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CREATING A DIGITAL EXHIBIT ON THE COLONIAL FUR TRADE IN FLORIDA: A
PUBLIC HISTORY / DIGITAL HISTORY PROJECT

by

BENJAMIN DIBIASE
B.A. University of Central Florida, 2009

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History
in the College of Arts and Humanities
at the University of Central Florida
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ABSTRACT

This thesis project incorporates podcasts and high resolution digital imagery visualizations into a single online exhibit to democratize archival material on the web. It employs contemporary new museology and digital history methodological frameworks, and utilizes the burgeoning medium of podcasting to increase public understanding and interaction with an historical period. For this project I have partnered with the Florida Historical Society and have utilized original materials from their collection relating to the colonial fur trade in Florida. The study of the North American fur trade has recently expanded to include more information about the indigenous societies engaged in the trade through closer examination of primary source documents, and this digital exhibit, hosted by the Florida Historical Society, created a series of module entities to achieve that end.

The exhibit consists of three sections, each exploring a different aspect of the traditional discourse surrounding the colonial American fur trade in Florida, including the voices of indigenous populations and their agency in trade negotiations. Each podcast has aired as part of the Florida Historical Society's weekly radio magazine, *Florida Frontiers*, which is broadcast throughout the state, and is archived on the Society's website.

The exhibit enhances the scholarly discussion on public history and digital history, while utilizing new media such as podcasts and interactive digital maps to create a more immersive user experience with primary source material to answer questions concerning the colonial fur trade in Florida. The project has combined new mediums of historical interpretation with

traditional museum methodology and historical analysis to create a multi-faceted, unique digital experience on the web.

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This project would not be possible without the assistance of a number of people and groups. I would like to first thank my thesis committee for their guidance and very constructive feedback throughout this process. Dr. Cassanello, Dr. Beiler, and Dr. French have all contributed their wealth of knowledge to this project and any semblance of academic integrity in this thesis can be attributed to their help. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the entire faculty and staff of the UCF history department, and specifically Dr. Amelia Lyons, Graduate Program Director, and Dr. Peter Larson, History Department Chair, who have, in a variety of ways, helped to further this project and my broader graduate career over the years. I must also thank Program Assistant Amanda Brahman, and Assistant Director of Academic Programs for the College of Arts and Humanities, Trisha Farmer, for helping to complete all of the necessary paperwork on time.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vii
CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION	1
The History of Panton Leslie & Company	7
Public History and Podcasting	12
Project Details	16
CHAPTER TWO: THE DIGITAL EXHIBIT: METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL COMPONENTS	25
Introduction	25
The Archive as the Museum	25
Museology	29
Digital History	34
Podcasting	39
Spatial History	42
Evaluation of a Digital History Project	45
CHAPTER THREE: PROJECT DETAILS	48
Planning for the Exhibit	50
Transcription and Digitization	56
Creating the web platform	58

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION.....	64
APPENDIX A: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL SECTION ONE (TRADE ON THE GROUND)	67
APPENDIX B: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL SECTION TWO (TALKS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS).....	77
APPENDIX C: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL SECTION THREE (LAND CESSIONS)	99
APPENDIX D: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL SECTION FOUR (TIME AND PLACE)	111
APPENDIX E: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION TEXT	116
APPENDIX F: TEACHER’S GUIDE	121
APPENDIX G: WEBSITE	130
LIST OF REFERENCES	138

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHA – American Historical Association

CMS – Content Management Software

CO – Compagnie d’Occident

CP – Cruzat Papers

D7 – Drupal 7

DPLA – Digital Public Libraries of America

FHS – Florida Historical Society

FHQ – Florida Historical Quarterly

GP – Greenslade Papers

HBC – Hudson’s Bay Company

JF&CO – John Forbes & Company

OAH – Organization of American Historians

PL&CO – Panton, Leslie & Company

RRCHNM – Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media

YIPP – Yale Indian Papers Project

CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION

The fields of public history and traditional history are evolving in the twenty-first century to include the utilization of new technologies and methods for presenting, interpreting and curating the past. This relatively new digital landscape allows historians, particularly public historians, to improve and expand the interaction between the non-professional historian public, and the academic researchers who are creating and interpreting these historic narratives. The use of free, easily accessible methods of interpreting and exploring history allows for more involvement amongst students and the broader public. How can museums, archives and historical societies take advantage of these new technologies, yet still maintain academic integrity and allow users to freely access primary source material at any time? How can the traditional discussion of indigenous involvement in the fur trade in North America benefit from such a project? This project utilizes the study of the fur trade in colonial America as a conduit for cultural exchange and indigenous agency as an exhibit model. In this chapter, I will outline the project details, including a brief historiographical discussion of the fur trade, specifically how this project will enhance the study of digital history through the fur trade in Florida case study. A primary goal of this thesis project is the creation of a digital history exhibition using original archival documents produced in the late eighteenth century by the trading firm Pantan, Leslie & Company (PL&CO). These documents are coupled with podcasts, and contemporary maps and are presented to users through the Florida Historical Society's (FHS) website.

The digital public history landscape allows historians to change the vehicles by which history is presented, and thus understood. Much like patrons attending a traditional brick and mortar museum would experience the mediation of a historical period through panels, the

presentation of artifacts, and through other traditional face to face experiences, this project explores how digital history can allow for an enhanced and modified experience via online interaction, utilizing new media. The use of podcasts as an educational medium is quickly becoming a primary means for educators to approach various topics such as this one. Recent findings suggest that students are utilizing podcasts more frequently and build upon the “instinctual” nature of listening rather than reading.¹ Public history includes the use of new and innovative means of presenting, expressing and disseminating history, which will enhance the user experience with that history. By employing new theories on public history and digital history, this project presents a traditional topic to a broader audience. Simply presenting these interpretations digitally allows for offsite interpretation as well.

One particular period that is often neglected is the history of the colonial fur trade between Anglo-Europeans and indigenous groups throughout North America. As early as 1902 when Hiram Martin Chittenden published *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, fascination with the trade has captured the imaginations of both the public and professional historians.² Chittenden’s narrative is in line with Frederick Jackson Turner’s theory of western growth, promoting American progress and domination over nature. He does however, relent that the Indians “controlled the whole system of conducting business,” yet sidelines any mention of indigenous agency or control of the trade, thus rendering their voices excluded from the narrative.³ Key to the North American colonial economic structure prior to 1800 was the use of

1. Khe Foon Hew, “Use of Audio Podcast in K-12 and Higher Education: A Review of Research Topics and Methodologies,” *Educational Technology Research and Development* 57, no.3: 333-335.

2. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West: A History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains and the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe* (New York: F.P. Harper, 1902), 1.

3. Ibid., 1-2.

the Anglo-European trade with the Indians, that is to say the exchange of goods, information and services between European colonists and the various Indigenous groups that occupied what is now the United States. Colonists established vast networks of Indian traders and European factors that forged European-Indian relationships.⁴ Historian Paul C. Phillips's canon on the fur trade, which was published posthumously in 1961, provides the ground work for any in-depth regional analysis of the American fur trade and posits that the trade in many ways shaped American society and was a "subject of high political and economic importance."⁵ Phillips's *The Fur Trade* attempted to connect a broader temporal and geographical narrative under the premise that the fur trade, as seen through documentary research, was an economic driver for colonists. He dismisses earlier notions of the rugged trapper acting independently, and thus, argues that the larger trading houses controlled the trade.⁶ This argument however, leaves the other half of the trading agreement completely out of the conversation. Explaining indigenous agency within the trade is where Phillips's work proves deficient. Although both Chittenden and Phillips represent two opposing views of the main actors driving the fur trade in north America—the rugged individualism of the independent trapper and the geopolitical forces working with large scale trading houses—both fail to see that surviving documents tell us indigenous actors were among the most important components of the trade.

More recent contributions from the American Fur Trade Convention have challenged this notion of indigenous placidity and lack of agency in the trade. Shortly after publication of *The Fur Trade* in 1961, a group of scholars organized the first American Fur Trade Convention to

4. Eric Jay Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 2010), XVI.

5. Paul Christler Phillips, *The Fur Trade* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1961), xx.

6. Don D. Walker, "Philosophical and Literary Implications in the Historiography of the Fur Trade," *Western American Literature* 9, no. 2 (1974): 92-93.

present, discuss and advance the discussion of the fur trade in North American society.⁷ Out of these conferences, which have occurred intermittently into the twenty-first century, some of the latest scholarship building on the work of Phillips and Chittenden has been produced. By the sixth conference in 1991, the conversation moved away from the romantic narrative spun by Chittenden toward a more discursive argument concerning indigenous culture altered by the trade, trans-Atlantic implications, as well as ways in which the study has been interpreted and presented to the public.⁸ The inclusion of the work of indigenous women in the fur trade as argued by historian Sylvia Van Kirk is another great example of how historians are moving this conversation towards indigenous agency.⁹ The ways in which we examine original documentation from archival sources on the fur trade sheds new light on the role of indigenous traders and societies in this enormously influential trade, and the study is building on these new methods of interpretation.

Broad concepts of large scale trading operations and international involvement as described by Phillips are best understood and examined as regional studies, and can often be compared based on national standards set forth by the governing trading house, or colonial governments. For example, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the Compagnie d'Occident (CO), two of the largest fur trade companies in North America at the turn of the 18th century, had very different internal structures, and these structures affected the way in which trade was

7. Dale L. Morgan, ed., *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the 1965 North American Fur Trade Conference* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), 1-3.

8. Michael Payne, "Fur Trade Social History and the Public Historian: Some Other Recent Trends," in *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Makinac Island, Michigan, 1991*.

9. Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Role of Native Women in the Fur Trade Society of Western Canada, 1670-1830," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7, no. 3 (1984): 10-11.

done, and how these two cultures interacted.¹⁰ Much like the PL&CO, both houses had a tremendous effect on the local trade, and through their documents, we can learn quite a bit about the indigenous groups they traded with. This meant that the cultural exchanges between the French and Indians and the English and Indians were very different, often with differing results, much like the trade in Florida varied depending on regional issues.¹¹ Production levels were similar, yet how the trade was carried out differed greatly. The French system allowed for individual traders to set prices, whilst the British system utilized set prices from a central market. These regional and national differences drive how we understand the impact of this cultural exchange, as well as the impact and causes of colonial soft power via the North American fur trade. Thus, a regional case study of the cultural interaction between these two groups is now necessary. It is also necessary to illustrate the effects of the fur trade on social, political, and cultural structures within indigenous and Anglo communities. The Panton, Leslie and Company (PL&CO) was formed under a British charter, but continued operation in the southeastern U.S. under Spanish colonial control. Although much has been uncovered about the various groups involved in the colonial North American fur trade, much of that information has been presented in traditional academic projects. The second part of this project involves the creation of a digitally curated platform containing primary source documents and educational podcasts to help broaden the reach of the history of this cultural exchange.

10. Ann M. Carlos, "Principal-Agent Problems in Early Trading Companies: A Tale of Two Firms," *The American Economic Review* 82, no. 2 (1992): 140-45.

11. Ann M Carlos and Stephen Nicholas, "Agency Problems in Early Chartered Companies: The Case of the Hudson's Bay Company," *The Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 4 (1990). See also, William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeast Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1986), 135-154.

Rather than contributing a traditional examination of indigenous agency within the broader context of the history of the American fur trade, this project includes the production of three (3) podcasts delving into different dimensions of the company's history and lasting impact, which have aired on the Florida Historical Society's weekly radio magazine, *Florida Frontiers*.¹² Each podcast is curated on the Florida Historical Society's educational webpage and includes high-resolution images of primary source documents discussed in the podcasts, as well as a curriculum guide that adheres to contemporary state academic standards for teacher and student use (see Appendix F).¹³ This alternative interpretation method of an historically important period and organization in Florida history will attract a wider audience and encourage deeper understanding of our state's diverse and complex history. Each podcast and the accompanying materials can be accessed at any time and from any point on the planet. This expanded reach broadens the discussion on North American colonial fur trading history to audiences not previously part of this discussion.

It also highlights the history of an underrepresented segment of Florida's population; its indigenous inhabitants. Much of the historical narrative is drawn from the experiences of Anglo-Europeans, but much can be discerned about the experiences and impact that the indigenous communities of Florida had upon the economic development of Florida from these primary sources. At this point, there is no combined and cleanly presented collection of curated, subject-based podcasts that includes primary source documentation and curriculum guides available and this project creates a new type of public history digital platform. This project highlights selected

12. Florida Historical Society, *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society*.

13. "Standards," *Florida Department of Education*, accessed July 6, 2017, <http://www.fldoe.org/academics/standards/subject-areas/social-studies.stml>.

documents from PL&CO and presents them in a more user-friendly and easily accessible format. Using PL&CO as a case study, this project addresses the issues of cultural exchange and elevates the position of Florida's indigenous populations in the American fur trade historiography through the exhibition of selected documents from the PL&CO papers held by the Florida Historical Society.

The History of Panton Leslie & Company

In 1763, Spain ceded the Florida territory to Britain in exchange for Havana, a result of allegiances during the French and Indian War. Known as the British Period (1763-1783) it marked the beginning of England's colonization attempts on the peninsula.¹⁴ The dividing line between East and West Florida became the Apalachicola River, with the British colony of Georgia to the north, and the Mississippi River to the west.¹⁵ The territory was sparsely populated with most of the European colonists living in and around St. Augustine in East Florida, and Pensacola in West Florida, the capitals of each colony respectively. The groups now moving into Florida when the British took over colonial control were an amalgamation of many smaller Native American clans and familiar groups who were loosely linked by language and custom in the southeastern U.S.¹⁶ The British began in earnest meeting with the local leaders within these indigenous communities and established ties that led to trade agreements. Key to the economic success of the British Floridas was a successful, trusting, and fruitful relationship with the various indigenous groups living in and bordering the Floridas. The primary commodities

14. Robin F. A. Fabel, "British Rule in the Floridas," *The New History of Florida*, Michael V. Gannon, ed. (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1996), 134-136.

15. J. Leitch Wright Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1975).

16. —, *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 14

coming out of the wooded backcountry were deer and otter pelts, more so the former. Items being imported and traded for the aforementioned peltry were European metal goods such as firearms, gunpowder, jewelry, clothing, and alcohol.¹⁷ Although the economy of the colonies was important, the other, and arguably the more pressing reason that the British catered to the needs and wants of the Indian population was strategic military alliances. During the French and Indian war, the British relied upon the provision of indigenous American warriors to fight alongside the white colonists and the British army to defend her colonial possessions.¹⁸ By the end of the British period in 1783, the Spanish regained control of the colonies and worked to reestablish trading relationships with the indigenous populations. It was within this borderlands environment, first described in the early 20th century by historian Herbert Bolton, that the loyalist Indian trading company, PL&CO, secured a charter under Spanish colonial administration.¹⁹

The North American continent presented a wealth of resources beyond just precious metals such as the ones mined from Central and South America. More importantly, the continent possessed natural resources and ample land for agriculture that by the eighteenth century would prove to be a driving force in the rapid immigration of Europeans into the Americas. Control of raw materials produced in the Americas became the motivating force between European traders and indigenous inhabitants during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This competitive environment proved perfect for the emergence of large-scale trading operations

17. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 87-90.

18. Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 13.

19. Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), vi-x. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 69-71.

which could handle the volume of necessary arms and goods coming into North America, but also the volume of deerskins and other peltry being exported out. It was through political coercion, complex trading networks, and opportunistic dealings that the partners and traders of the PL&CO were able to procure so much wealth in the span of only a few decades.²⁰ The enormous financial successes of the company and its successor, John Forbes and Company (JF&CO), are not the key issues explored in this project. Rather, it was the effect on Creek and Seminole Indian culture and trade that paved the way for hostilities between Anglo settlers and Indians in Florida during the Creek Civil War and the Seminole Wars period. The enormous land cessions led to the breakup of the clan systems and eventually led to the aforementioned armed conflicts.

In the late 18th century, European colonists, specifically the French and British, began to build upon a centuries-old tradition of trade with indigenous populations of North America, into a systematic, regulated, and extensive web of contact between these two worlds. By the end of that century, a new power emerged, the United States. The various tribes throughout the southeast traded deerskins for European goods such as firearms, powder, clothing, metal goods, and much more, as the demand for high quality leather goods in Europe reached a peak.²¹ Shrewd immigrant businessmen in North America often managed to turn small mercantile outposts into trading empires. One company in particular, known as the Panton, Leslie and Co., managed to build their network of traders into a monopolistic force in the southeast from 1783-1812. Their landholdings were extensive, and the influence on various indigenous tribes and the colonial Spanish cannot be understated. The original partners, all Scotsmen, had originally

20. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 7.

21. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 185.

operated out of South Carolina but were pushed out during the American Revolution, eventually setting up their headquarters in the Spanish-held West Florida city of Pensacola. Over the course of the company's history, they managed to secure large tracts of land through cession from the Creek and Seminole Indians in Florida.²² Their operations changed the nature of the fur trade in the southeast. Their efforts often facilitated contact between the Spanish and American officials in charge of making Indian policy.²³

For most of the nineteenth century, the role of the PL&CO remained a footnote in the broader history of late-colonial period Florida.²⁴ Beginning in 1933 until late 1939, the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (*FHQ*) published a selection of nearly two dozen transcriptions of documents from the PL&CO in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They contain business-related correspondence with cursory mention of indigenous groups. These transcriptions were published without editorial commentary or a thorough introduction, rendering them nearly useless to the average researcher without delving further into the company's history and impact, or without some context.²⁵ It was not until the late twentieth century that any serious scholarship on the subject began to emerge. Historian John C. Upchurch published an analysis of the Forbes Purchase in the *FHQ* in 1969, although little is devoted to the involvement of indigenous actors in that negotiation. Other than stating that "a preliminary agreement was reached with the Creeks and Seminoles," Upchurch focused primarily on the

22. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 367.

23. William S. Coker, ed., "John Forbes' Description of the Spanish Floridas, 1804" (Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1979), 19-34. In 1804 John Forbes, head of the PL&CO firm, wrote a memorial to the Spanish Ambassador to the U.S., Carlos Martínez de Irujo, describing the history of Florida, including quite a bit of history about the trading operations of PL&CO. This relationship benefited the Spanish in that it supported their claims to the westernmost reaches of Florida, whilst helping Forbes gain support from the Americans for his Indian debt claims.

24. Richard L. Campbell, *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida* (Cleveland: Williams Publishing Co., 1892), facsimile edited by Pat Dodson (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), 150-153.

25. See *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12, p. 198; 13, pp. 51, 105, 165; 14, pp. 130, 217, 275; 15, pp. 65, 125, 173, 248; 16, pp. 44, 130, 251; 17, pp. 54, 237, 312; 18, pp. 61, 135.

Anglo-Spanish and later American alliance that facilitated the land cession, and the surveyors who carried out the earliest partitioning.²⁶ In 1986 historians Thomas D. Watson and William S. Coker published what had become a decades-long research project about the history of the PL&CO. Their work coincided with the publication of a guide to all known primary source documents relating to the company entitled, *The Papers of Panton Leslie, and Co.: Guide to the Microfilm Collection*. The guide includes annotation to nearly 8,400 documents held in archives across the world.²⁷ Watson and Coker's monumental canon is at best a narrative history of a company. They successfully argue the point that PL&CO rose to economic prominence by filling a void in the fur trade after 1783, and managed to leverage that colonial dependency on trade to their own political advantage, namely land cessions.²⁸ Yet even with the enormous volume of documents available at hand, their analyses of indigenous populations as equal actors in the fur trade is lacking.

The historiography of PL&CO, and the greater fur trade in the southeast, has largely been stagnated in the last few decades, despite an evolution in the study of the broader North American fur trade in other case studies which include indigenous experiences. It is through the exploration of original documents, combined with the presentation of these materials in the form of podcasts, that the long-term impacts of the late colonial period Indian trade can be better understood and the narrative of the indigenous populations is revealed.

26. John C. Upchurch, "Aspects of the Development and Exploration of the Forbes Grant," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48, no.2 (1969): 117-119.

27. *The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Co.: Guide to the Microfilm Collection*, William S. Coker, ed. (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1986), v-vii. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 371-374.

28. Coker & Watson, *Indian Traders*, 366.

Public History and Podcasting

Even today, after decades of development and evolution, the practice of public history can be difficult to define and compartmentalize. The National Council on Public History succinctly defines the field as, “the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world.”²⁹ Although a relatively simple and somewhat intuitive definition, it is the scope and different types of the aforementioned “work” which complicate the historiography of the field. Put even more simply, public history acts as a bridge between the academic discipline of historical research, and the applied use of history outside of the classroom. Archival work, museum curation, public service work, and architectural preservation are all examples of the public history field at work. The historiography of public history is relatively recent, only tracing its roots to the 1970s in America; the field has grown to encompass more than just a bridge between academia and the public.³⁰ Although the argument over whether public history truly represents a distinct subfield has been ongoing, the simple fact is that the role of the public historian is vitally important in today’s research landscape.³¹ It is the interdisciplinary nature of public history that allows for multimedia platforms to inform the historical process.

Public History works in other ways as well as a mechanism for the distillation of complex ideas and themes in history that would often prove indigestible to non-academics. Organizations such as the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media (RRCHNM) have worked to move the theoretical framework forward into the twenty-first century, and further

29. “How Do We Define Public History,” *National Council on Public History*, accessed July 3, 2016, <http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/>.

30. For insight into this debate and a good historiography of the field, see Patricia Mooney-Melvin, “Professional Historians and the Challenge of Redefinition,” and Constance B. Shultz, “Becoming a Public Historian,” in *Public History: Essays from the Field*, James B. Gardner and Peter LaPaglia, eds. (Malabar: Krieger Press, 2006), 5-40.

public history as a distinct subfield within the humanities. Historians such as Daniel J. Cohen and Stephen Robertson have contributed more recent work on the topic dividing digital history and humanities as they relate to public history, creating a methodological framework not unlike traditional historical research, but utilizing different technology. Topics such as trade and multicultural relationships explored through the PL&CO podcast project allow students and non-academics alike to better understand these complex and multifaceted theories, and also find ways to apply that information to better understanding Florida history today.

Examples of public history in early American history include the construction and formation of historical societies, as collectors and curators of national, regional and local history in the late nineteenth century, such as the Florida Historical Society, which traces its roots to 1856. These organizations served as repositories for large private collections and libraries. A move towards the curation and narration of American, rather than European, history in the early twentieth century meant that interpretation, storage, and display of artifacts in museums and historical societies became increasingly important.³² The Florida Historical Society is a great example of an early historical society which was originally concerned with collection and preservation, but has since moved towards dissemination of holdings through the use of digital platforms.³³ This project embodies the Florida Historical Society's move towards digitization and publication in the twenty-first century. Currently archived editions of the Florida Historical Society's Weekly Magazine, *Florida Frontiers*, can be found on the FHS website and

32. Catherine M. Lewis, *The Changing Face of Public History: The Chicago Historical Society and the Transformation of an American Museum* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005), 12-13.

33. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Florida Historical Society: 1856-2004* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2004), 1-24.

downloaded or subscribed to at no cost.³⁴ These podcasts allow any internet user to access hundreds of hours of content ranging from pre-Colombian period to present day Florida history and culture.

The term podcasting, and the use of the internet as a means of transferring audio and video files, is a new form of communication. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the use of audioblogs, and Really Simple Syndication (RSS) code allowed internet users to create and share audio files on a regular and recurring basis.³⁵ In early 2004 the term “podcasting” appeared in an article about audio blogs, online radio, and the use of this new RSS technology. The name gained traction within the relatively small, new community of podcasters, and over the course of the last decade thousands of new “hosts” have created, shared, and curated these audio files for internet users to enjoy.³⁶ The podcast has become an easy and cost-effective means for historical societies and libraries to produce, and make available to the broader public, materials from their collections, along with editorial content to help contextualize that content. Several exemplary programs are produced by the New York Historical Society, Kansas Historical Society, and the Maine Historical Society.³⁷ In a recent article published in *Vanity Fair*, columnist James Wolcott argues that podcasts can induce an “immersive, time suspended float,” which allows listeners the

34. “Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine,” accessed July 6, 2017, <https://myfloridahistory.org/frontiers/radio/programs>.

35. Michael W. Geoghegan and Dan Klass, *Podcast Solutions: The Complete Guide to Podcasting* (Springer-Verlag, New York, 2005), 3-5.

36. Ben Hammersley, “Audible Revolution,” *The Guardian*, February 12, 2004, accessed June 28, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/feb/12/broadcasting.digitalmedia>.

37. New York Historical Society “Programs,” accessed July 6, 2017, <http://www.nyhistory.org/programs/audio-video>; Massachusetts Historical Society, “Massachusetts Historical Society Podcasts,” accessed July 6, 2017, <http://www.masshist.org/podcasts>; Kansas Historical Society, “Podcasts,” accessed July 6, 2017, <https://www.ksks.org/p/podcasts-and-audio-tours/10035>; Maine Historical Society, “Program Podcasts,” accessed July 6, 2017, https://www.mainehistory.org/programs_podcasts.shtml.

feeling of having had a conversational experience, rather than a third-party viewing experience.³⁸

It is this level of interaction between the archived primary source documents and the general public which this project will help to create and foster. The newly developed platform of podcasts will engage users in a more profound and meaningful way. If previous narrative collections of the PL&CO papers have failed to convey the voices of indigenous populations, these podcasts elevate the narrative. The podcasts will be available on another platform that is very similar to online podcasting, but utilizes a more traditional delivery method. Each podcast has been featured on the Florida Historical Society's weekly radio magazine, *Florida Frontiers*, which reaches thousands of listeners around the state every week.

The use of these podcasts on *Florida Frontiers*, although a relatively new program, is continuing a tradition of local radio features and commentaries contributing to broader understanding of the social studies, arts and culture. Tom McCourt's 1999 study on public broadcasting in America points to a system of radio stations and for-profit entities who, when cobbled together, make up a patchwork of different and competing messages, and one would assume the very nature of an antiquated technology such as radio in the modern era would lead to "isolated listening." However, he does concede that the "highly localized" and "interactive" talk show platform, similar to what is offered through *Florida Frontiers*, makes the radio/podcasting platform much more interactive.³⁹ It is the targeted, local audience of Floridians and people visiting Florida who will benefit from these podcasts. Although it is important to note that the themes and concepts concerning the colonial fur trade are not regionally exclusive, the

38. James Wolcott, "So, Like, Why Are We So Obsessed with Podcasts Right Now?" *Vanity Fair*, January 2016.

39. Tom McCourt, *Conflicting Communication Interests in America: The Case of National Public Radio* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 16-17.

historiography of the southeastern trade has lagged behind more discursive narratives produced about other regions. Utilizing the medium of podcasting for historical narrative interpretation is not that different than the use of film to accomplish the same goals. Historian Shelley Bookspan argues that the use of new media for historical interpretation should excite historians. She cautions that attention to detail and complexity are hallmarks of the historical craft, and can be used in more expressive ways, such as cinema, or in this case, podcasts.⁴⁰ The aim is to provide listeners of this podcast with a sense of ownership and a stake in Florida history, and to better understand the historiography and debate surrounding the North American fur trade, but to do so through a more entertaining medium. Although the events, people, and activities described in the podcasts for this project occurred and existed over two centuries ago, the themes and common threads will connect the listeners to our shared past. A connection to the past illuminates complex, competing, and sometimes difficult historical topics.

Project Details

The Florida Historical Society (FHS) holds over twelve hundred documents pertaining to the PL&CO firm. The Greenslade and Cruzat Papers, named for the donors and descendants of an original PL&CO partner, are arranged in chronological order and include personal correspondence, business and governmental correspondence, supply lists and inventories from traders, and transcripts of meetings with Indian councils, as well as promissory notes used in the deerskin trade to account for materials being traded.⁴¹ FHS has graciously agreed to partner with

40. Shelly Bookspan, "History, Historians and Visual Entertainment Media: Toward a Rapprochement," *The Public Historian* 25, no. 3 (2003): 12.

41. Benjamin DiBiase, "Guide to the Pantton, Leslie & Co. (Greenslade Papers)," unpublished finding aid, Box 1, Folder 1, Library of Florida History, Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, FL, 2009. Benjamin DiBiase, "Guide to the

me on this project and to allow for the materials to be displayed on their website for easy access and download. Alongside each set of documents and each themed podcast will be a historic and current satellite map of the areas discussed to provide a special foundation for the study. Each podcast segment aired on *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is part of a recurring “Exploring Archives” segment.⁴² Each segment is between five to eight minutes in length and includes detailed background information about the eighteenth century fur trade in Florida, a description of a document or group of documents, and further context as to the importance and impact of these documents in furthering the study of cultural contact between colonial European traders and indigenous communities. Each podcast deals with a specific component of the eighteenth-century southeastern Indian trade and PL&CO. As discussed by historian Kathryn H. Braund, the trade on the ground provided quite a bit of information about what was being traded, and conclusions can be drawn as to how that trade changed Creek and Seminole culture.⁴³ Direct conversations also provide researchers with a wealth of information concerning the interaction and exchanges between the indigenous populations and their Anglo-European counterparts. Lastly, the use of land cessions as a bargaining chip to absolve debt owed to the companies and the discussions concerning those negotiations tell us a great deal about the state of change occurring within the tribal structures of the southeastern indigenous populations. It is in keeping with this model of primary source gathering to illuminate indigenous voices that the podcasts’ themes and the methodology for

Panton, Leslie & Co. (Cruzat Papers),” unpublished finding aid, Box 1, Folder 1, Library of Florida History, Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, FL, 2009.

42. “Podcasts,” *Florida Historical Society*, accessed July 7, 2017, <https://myfloridahistory.org/frontiers/podcasts>.

43. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 121-125.

pulling from the nearly twelve hundred documents is derived. Below is a breakdown of each episode's content:

Ep. 1: "The people on the ground" how the trading process worked in North America

Ep. 2: Creek and Seminole "talks" with Anglo-Europeans

Ep. 3: Land cessions and the end of the deerskin trade in Florida (long-term impacts)

The documents discussed and curated on the FHS website highlight the abovementioned sub-themes and help the general public break down the complexities of the fur trade exchange in borderlands Spanish North America.

The goal of this project is to create a multi-dimensional educational space for users to interact with primary sources from the FHS archive, curated with podcast narratives and current/historical maps of the areas mentioned in the podcasts. Users will have the opportunity to experience the complexities of the cultural exchange between Europeans and indigenous communities in colonial North America through the lens of the PL&CO. The intended audience is not only educators and students of American history but also anyone seeking more in-depth and critical analyses of an exchange whose implications can still be felt today. Users are encouraged to connect with the FHS via their Facebook page to discuss and share these curated webpages and podcasts, and also weigh in on the effectiveness of these new digital programs.

The project progressed in two major parts. First, I produced three independent but related podcasts focusing on an individual primary source or group of primary sources which exemplify a particular aspect of the eighteenth century fur trade in Florida. All three of these segments have

already been produced and the webpage used to curate the documents and podcasts is activated on the FHS website (see Appendix G).⁴⁴ The goal of each podcast is to create an active narrative that entertains as well as educates the listeners of *Florida Frontiers*. The public broadcasting platform allows a large number of listeners to hear these podcasts, and possibly drive them to conduct further research. The second part of the project is the creation of an educational web platform where all three podcasts will be available for streaming or download. Along with each segment are high resolution digital scans of the original documents discussed in the podcasts as well as a typed transcription of each document (see Appendices A, B, C, D, E). Alongside the collection of documents is an historical digital rendering of the areas discussed to help visually convey the themes discussed. The final portion of this educational webpage is a comprehensive curriculum guide designed for elementary and secondary school teachers to utilize in their classroom.⁴⁵ The curriculum guide includes a narrative summary of colonial Florida history during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as targeted suggested questions based on the analysis in the podcasts and the original sources highlighted from the collections. The basis for this curriculum guide is derived from the latest state academic standards on social studies and will achieve benchmarks laid out in those standards.⁴⁶ All of this material is available at no cost and will be hosted by the FHS on the educational portion of their webpage which features similar curriculum guides and makes all full episodes of *Florida Frontiers* available for streaming or download.

44. Benjamin DiBiase, "Fur Trade in Florida," accessed July 6, 2017, <https://myfloridahistory.org/education/exhibit/fur-trade-florida>.

45. John K. Lee, "Digital History in the History/Social Studies Classroom," *The History Teacher*, 35 no. 4 (2002) 503-517.

46. "Social Studies," *Florida Department of Education*, accessed July 6, 2017, <http://www.fldoe.org/academics/standards/subject-areas/social-studies.stml>.

If we are currently experiencing a convergence of museum and archival work in the digital age, it is important to highlight the ways in which this framework has been employed through other digital platforms throughout the web. Currently there are several large archives employing a very similar technique to create a digitally friendly environment for students and the interested public to learn via digital primary sources. One such example from Florida is the *Florida Memory* (FM) website. The State Archives of Florida holds tens of thousands of state and local government materials, but also audio files, photographs, moving images, and other texts that “illuminate the state’s history and culture.”⁴⁷ Their website also includes blog entries written by archive staff and historians which highlight archival collections. Although a wonderful source for material covering the indigenous communities of Florida, their online curation does not include podcast guides for their online exhibits, but their organizational structure is a great example of a clean user interface.

The University of Georgia’s *Digital Library of Georgia* (DLG) project has compiled over 2,000 documents pulled from several southern library and museum repositories, all related to the indigenous American tribes of the southeastern United States.⁴⁸ Very similar to the FM website, this collection of documents presents a large array of original material, yet none of this material has been compartmentalized or presented in a way that will be beneficial to understanding the relationship between the fur trade and political power exchange. The documents include legal proceedings, military orders, financial documents and other materials created by Anglo-Europeans. These materials serve as some of the only primary source materials available that can

47. “About Florida Memory,” *Florida Memory*, accessed July 1, 2016, <https://www.floridamemory.com/>.

48. Digital Library of Georgia, “Peoples and Cultures,” accessed January 24, 2017, <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/Topics/PeoplesCultures.html>.

shed light on the activities and agency, or lack thereof, amongst the indigenous inhabitants in regards to the fur trade. The Digital Public Library of America (DPLA) project features dozens of online exhibits that center on primary source material to enhance teaching and learning of major thematic narratives in American history.⁴⁹ The DPLA became one of the primary models for this public history project. Although the programming software is different, as explained in a later chapter, the end product is a collection of digitally curated primary materials that enhance the narrative of a particular topic.

One of the most well-presented and voluminous collections of digitally available primary sources related to the North American fur trade is hosted by the United States Library of Congress (LOC). Their “Indians of North America: Selected Resources,” highlights many of the key collections housed within the LOC’s collections.⁵⁰ Their interface is simple, clean, and covers a broad swath of materials and time periods from photographs to sound recordings and transcribed oral history accounts. Although not specifically focused on the fur trade, many of the presented materials incorporate parts of the early fur trade into their narratives. Common themes of cultural exchange and the use of soft power through trade are integral parts of those narratives. This thesis project aims to fill the gaps in projects such as the LOC’s and DLG’s by including highlighted material that narrows the focus of these broad topical questions through the use of PL&CO documents, and connects these primary source documents with the those highlighted in the LOC’s collections. A regional case study helps to highlight the role of indigenous cultures in the fur trade economy through these original documents.

49. Digital Public Library of America, “Exhibitions,” accessed March 14, 2017, <https://dp.la/exhibitions>.

50. Library of Congress, “Indians of North America: Selected Sources,” accessed January 13, 2017, https://www.loc.gov/rr/main/indians_rec_links/overview.html.

Similarly, both the University of Washington's Digital Collections webpage and the Province of Manitoba's *Hudson's Bay Company* collection allow researchers to seek out individual documents relating to the fur trade, yet none of this material has been curated in such a way that will allow for easy access. A central part of modern public history and traditional history research models and practices includes the increased access of material using the latest technology.⁵¹

The Yale Indian Papers Project (YIPP) contains a similar feature of searchable primary source materials from multiple archives, all relating to the indigenous population of the northeastern U.S. YIPP also features a detailed discussion on transcription discretion that has been applied to this project. This project aims to display and make widely available primary source material relating to an underrepresented segment of the American population. By making these sources available, the YIPP project accomplishes what historian Jennifer O'Neal argues for as a "continued development of tribal archival repositories and successful relationships between tribal and non-tribal repositories."⁵² This project is in keeping with this theory of advancing primary source material relating to indigenous communities.

The goal of this project is to use the PL&CO as a case study to highlight the themes of power politics and cultural exchange through the trading of furs. Although great collections of digital material, the websites mentioned in this proposal do not include any kind of narrative overview to allow both scholars and the general public to understand these complex concepts, and how the curation and presentation of original documents highlights these narratives. A major

51. Renée M. Sentilles, "The Archives of Cyberspace," *Archives Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, Antoinette Burton, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 141-145.

52. Jennifer R. O'Neal, "The Right to Know: Decolonizing Native American Archives," *Journal of Western Archives* 6, no.1 (2015): 1-2.

issue with how the history of the North American fur trade is presented is the fractured and regional nature of curation and presentation.⁵³ This presents a unique challenge for the public historian attempting to present the history of the fur trade because regional differences certainly do exist, but with the increased access to original material through digital platforms such as this project, the goal of democratization will lead to a more robust historiography. This thesis utilizes documents from a single company operating in the southeastern United States to highlight broader themes in the history of the North American fur trade.

This project takes the papers housed at the Florida Historical Society (FHS) archives related to the deerskin trade and displays selected documents, as well as audio podcasts summarizing these documents and their impact, and displays this material on the FHS website for public consumption. Each podcast will use the PL&CO to explore major topics in the historiography of the North American fur trade, such as cultural exchange and the use of soft power through trade. The entire digital collection is curated on the FHS educational webpage and includes a teacher's guide that utilizes the same original source material, in accordance with contemporary state standards (see Appendix F). The project will serve as the basis for my written thesis, to be submitted for consideration by the UCF History Department in the Summer, 2017, semester. This thesis and project are both important contributions to the field of public history because access to primary and secondary material relating to the cultural exchange between indigenous communities and European societies is lacking. This project will serve as a model for

53. W. J. Eccles and Donald P. Heldman, *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 482.

creating more multidimensional public history platforms to further the study of underrepresented periods or groups in history.

In the next chapter, I have laid out a more detailed analysis of the methodology and historiography of the various components of this project. The succeeding chapter delves into the technical and logistical aspects of designing, creating, and exhibiting the materials for this project. Finally, I devote a chapter to the development of a curriculum guide, and also detail how this project is being disseminated and how the exhibit's users can interact with the content through social media and the website's comments section.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DIGITAL EXHIBIT: METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL COMPONENTS

Introduction

This digital curation project has created a multi-dimensional digital exhibit of original documents from the FHS archive. In doing so, the archive itself moves beyond a facility for research, but also become an educational outlet. Through digital curation and display, the FHS provides a public good by increasing access points to primary source materials. In the twenty-first century, public historians are moving beyond the realm of traditional interpretation to include the use of new media and emerging technology. This however, does not mean that archives, museums, and historical societies are no longer relevant, or no longer maintain an important position amongst the historical community and the public. Quite the opposite, as historian Edward Ayers points out that changes in technology “have made it possible for us to think of new ways to approach the past.”⁵⁴ In order to produce the fur trade narrative exhibit to expose the experiences and voices of southeastern indigenous tribes during the late eighteenth century, a grounding in traditional museum methodology, archival theory, podcasting and spatial history are required. In this chapter, I discuss these traditional and evolving historiographies, and include evidence for how this project adds to those historiographies.

The Archive as the Museum

By definition, archives are repositories of material cultures that are carefully collected, arranged, catalogued, and often made available under strict conditions for research purposes.

54. Edward J. Ayers, “The Pasts and Futures of Digital History,” *University of Virginia*, accessed July 7, 2017, <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/PastsFutures.html>.

This gets to the heart of the reasons for pursuing an online exhibition of materials from an archival collection, in this case from the Florida Historical Society's Library of Florida History. Archives exist in order to facilitate the preservation of and access to materials of historical significance. An archive differs from a public library in that the resources available from an archive are generally original, and are often unpublished, but might include published materials as well. Materials may be in various formats including print and photographic, and can include audio resources, moving film, and digitally born materials. The Society of American Archivists further defines an archive as being differentiated from other types of repositories by holding materials that are "often unique, specialized or rare."⁵⁵ Although the ways in which information is collected, maintained, and displayed in both museums and archives has changed in recent years, many argue that the fundamental nature of these institutions, and the convergence of their missions, stems from a much longer tradition of access and preservation.⁵⁶ The ways in which archival collections are arranged, through better understanding of content versus context, has helped the archival community better serve patrons, but also make their collections more available to a broader research audience.⁵⁷ Historically, museums and archives shared common missions and were often created concurrently. That commonality can be found in their archival practices, as described by Kathleen Roe.⁵⁸ In some cases, one was created as an extension of the other. In other words, a museum might slowly accumulate an archive of documents, forming provenance for artifacts; and conversely an archive might display items for exhibition in order to

55. "What are Archives and How Do They Differ from Libraries?" Society of American Archivists, <http://www2.archivists.org/usingarchives/whatarearchives>, accessed February 19, 2017.

56. Lisa M. Given and Lianne McTavish, "What's Old is New Again: The Reconvergence of Libraries, Archives and Museums in the Digital Age," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 80, no. 1 (2010): 9.

57. Kathleen D. Roe, *Arranging and Describing Archives and Manuscripts* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2005), 26.

58. *Ibid.*, 25-27.

increase access.⁵⁹ Isolated collections illustrate this convergence and divergence over time between museums and archives, as museum and archive theory evolves into a postmodern conception of inquiry and collection.⁶⁰ In the twenty-first century, the goal has now become maximizing the degree to which this convergence of missions can be best utilized given technology and modern digital humanities theory. Display and dissemination of archival collections in a digital space is an asset to historians as well as the greater public. As historian Renée M. Sentilles points out, “history is about how the past is alive and active in the present, and never is that more clearly illustrated than on the Web.”⁶¹ The conversation of history continues and can even be heightened by the use of archival material in a digital space. Sentilles goes on to point out that the internet allows for archives to democratize materials on the web. In other words, digital representations of archival collections are now available through a simple internet search.⁶² Issues of access to the internet certainly limit the number of users for a particular collection, but geographic limits have always presented a challenge to archival access. The ephemeral nature of the web also presents a challenge to digitized material and the longevity of access. One goal is the archiving of the web itself as a source. This concept, known as a web archive, is the very collection and preservation of websites, which can include historically important digitized material, or born-digital material such as podcasts. This is important for digital historians creating digital history projects because the web itself is a medium ripe for

59. Ibid., 10.

60. Michael J. Paulus Jr., “The Converging Histories and Futures of Libraries, Archives and Museums as Seen through the Case of the Curious Collector Myron Eells,” *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 46, no. 2 (2011): 195.

61. Renée M. Sentilles, “The Archives of Cyberspace,” *Archives Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, Antoinette Burton, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 147.

62. Ibid., 148.

analysis.⁶³ The digitization of archival material on the web, in this case through exhibit installation, pushes the limits of accessibility to anyone with internet connection. In order to maintain the raw product, in this case the project itself as it appears on the web, I've included an appendix containing actual screen shots of the webpage in its live form (see Appendix G). This adds to what historian Niels Brügger argues is necessary for the historiography of the web in order to study the web as a medium of the past.⁶⁴ In this sense, digitized archival material becomes reborn digital material on the archives web. This rethinking of history on the web further changes the nature of the archive in the twenty-first century.

The archive can also function as a museum. In this case, it is in keeping with the Florida Historical Society's mission of "dissemination" which moves the archive into the sphere of a museum, which the FHS has not traditionally been. The Florida Historical Society houses thousands of rare and out-of-print books, hundreds of manuscripts, tens of thousands of photographs and photographic negatives, as well a sizeable collection of historical maps in their collection.⁶⁵ This project creates a model by which other original materials from the FHS archive will be presented through their website. This project employs a sampling of methodologies which add up to a multi-faceted online exhibit. In keeping with other archives in the U.S., this project is presenting original material of interest to researchers, as well as transcriptions of the documents to make them even more accessible. The exhibit also employs methods of spatial visualization and podcasting to provide a richer user experience which reaches beyond traditional exhibit spaces.

63. Niels Brügger, "When the Present Web is Later the Past: Web Historiography, Digital History, and Internet Studies," *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 37, no. 4 (2012): 105-106.

64. Ibid.

65. "Research," *Florida Historical Society*, accessed July 8, 2017, www.myfloridahistory.org/research.

Museology

Before delving further into the particulars of this project, it is also necessary to build a case for this digital exhibit as a standalone project within the framework of traditional museum studies in the United States. For over a century and a half, museums created a view of the past which consequently dictated the ways in which Americans understood shared history and culture. Museums became popular to mid-nineteenth century Americans as curiosities which housed the past forms and representations of worlds largely unknown to them at the time. It is because of this role as a caretaker that the museum became the unchallenged authority on telling patrons the truth about history and culture.⁶⁶ In the late twentieth century, American politics and museums as cultural gatekeepers came into conflict, particularly with the opening of the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum's *Enola Gay* exhibit.⁶⁷ The question of why a museum possesses the authority and agency when presenting history and culture to the public became a national conversation. These questions necessitated a convention at the turn of the twenty-first century comprising the nation's leading museum curators to discuss and learn from the public what "curatorial power and authorship" would mean moving forward.⁶⁸ Out of these conversations rose a new school of museum democratization destabilizing the traditional structure of the "show and tell" narrative.⁶⁹ The very definition of a museum has evolved in the past two decades as well. Many museum studies scholars have adopted cultural critic Tony Bennett's theory of an "exhibitionary complex" to begin redefining what a museum is, and what

66. Victoria Cain, "Exhibitionary Complexity: Reconsidering Museums' Cultural Authority," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2008): 1143.

67. Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 269-309.

68. Paula Marincola, ed., *Curating Now: Imaginative Practice/Public Responsibility* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2001), vii.

69. "New Museology," *Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1039 (1989): 683.

one should be, based on the twentieth century definition of a museum as a public space that helped create a “self-regulating citizenry.”⁷⁰ From this foundation, we can begin to see this digital exhibit project as an extension of the exhibitionary complex first defined by Bennett. Rather than confine the exhibit space to well-known public spheres where throngs of people gather to be told why one particular article from the past is representative of a certain narrative, we can see the exhibit as the sum of its parts. In other words, the digital exhibit becomes what the user defines it as. Yet, how can the museum be rated? How can any exhibit installation contest the “exhibitionary complex,” as defined by Bennett? Historian Stephen E. Weil has created a series of criteria to accomplish just that in his book, *Making Museums Matter*. This deftly compiled collection of essays examines how the museum exists in the twenty-first century and what can be done to maintain “purposefulness and capability,” among many other attributes necessary to survive in this day and age.⁷¹ What Weil also points out is that the user’s experience will be different depending on their own reason for visiting the museum. In other words, Weil describes three “e’s” of museum patron motivation (entertainment, education, experience) as three basic categories to distinguish how a visitor interacts with a museum.⁷² This means that the exhibit cannot drive the user experience but, in actuality, the user experience drives the exhibit. By exhibiting these primary source materials along with contemporary and historic maps, podcasts which provide context, and links to more source material, and providing all content without charge on the FHS website, we are extending the reach and the role of both the archive and the museum to a more creative and user-driven platform. It is because of the fact that the

70. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), 73.

71. Stephen Weil, *Making Museums Matter* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 13.

72. *Ibid.*, 66-69.

internet has changed the ways in which historians, curators, and archivists interact with the public that an observation made by Walker Museum Director Kathy Halbreich back in 2000 that “curators no longer work in isolation from educators and audiences,” is more true now than ever before.⁷³ The very nature of the curator as an author has evolved to consider the audience, medium, and subject in different and more dynamic ways.

For museum curators, objects and documents within a collection “hold” history. In other words, objects being displayed communicate something about the creator(s) that can become part of the exhibit narrative.⁷⁴ Displaying these documents makes a connection with the individuals who created the documents. By doing so, we inherently elevate the role of the actors in the narrative, in this case the indigenous inhabitants of Florida. This is an especially important premise given the nature of documents relating to indigenous American culture and trade. Creek and Seminole tribes did not have a written language, nor were any of their business transactions relating to the fur trade ever recorded by these indigenous groups.⁷⁵ Thus, displaying only materials created by and for the benefit of the PL&CO brings with it certain exhibitionary hurdles. Traditionally, when conducting research using primary source materials, historians have to weigh the inherent biases which affect the manner in which information has been recorded in the past. For instance, when reading documents presented in this digital exhibit, it is important to note that transcriptions of “talks” between indigenous groups were mediated by the English translations done by company traders. Many of these traders were the offspring of European men

73. Kathy Halbreich, “Inventing New Models for the Museum and its Audiences,” *Curating Now: Imaginative Practice/Public Responsibility*, Paula Marincola, ed. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2001), 71.

74. Jay Arthur, Barbara Paulson, and Troy Pickwick, “Overheard—Conversations of Museum Curator,” *Passionate History: Myth, Memory and Indigenous Australia*, Frances Peters-Little, Ann Curthoys, and John Docker, eds. (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2010), 299.

⁷⁵ Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 6-7.

and indigenous mothers.⁷⁶ They were keenly aware of the circumstances existing between these two cultures. Their loyalties can often be interpreted through tone and verbiage used in letters to and from the PL&CO headquarters over time. Whether upset about lack of supplies, or distraught over trade disagreements between parties, the traders on the ground bore the brunt of the burden in regards to contact. With this consciousness of self in mind, how does one proceed with interpreting the content of an exhibit on the fur trade between indigenous tribes and Anglo-European companies by only utilizing documents produced by the companies? In the case of aboriginal objects being displayed in the National Museum of Australian, curators were at an impasse because their objects lacked a multidimensional context.⁷⁷ A similar situation exists for these documents. We are able to provide some context based on other historical research conducted over the years by historians and anthropologists, but the objects themselves also possess many more stories that cannot be interpreted by professionals within the historical/museum fields. But by displaying original content in digital format, the experiences of indigenous inhabitants of the southeast can be parsed out by the exhibit's viewers. Thus, a digital display of sampled documents from the PL&CO papers allows users to make decisions based on available information in the documents, along with supplemental material provided with the digital exhibit.

The issue of historical ownership is not new to digital history, but is in fact an example of the ways in which traditional historical interpretation is relevant in the digital realm. With particular concern to indigenous American narratives, often the institutions reflecting on the past

76. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 83.

77. Arthur, Paulson, and Pickwick, "Overheard—Conversations of Museum Curator," *Passionate History*, 308.

answer these questions through their interpretive narratives.⁷⁸ The theories associated with “new museology,” beginning in the late 1970s, began detaching the institution from the object, and allowed the object to speak within the context of the collection. One central tenet of the new museology involves a self-reflexive component to exhibition. No longer could the material on display simply be presented, but interactivity must take place between the patrons and the objects. In the case of this digital exhibit, the documents have to move beyond the PL&CO context, in order for the voice of these indigenous creators to be present. The digital realm removes the documents from the context of an archive and brings them into a more open setting. A recommendation for the new museologist is to attempt exactly that. Rather than present materials in an abstract manner with no interpretation, it is important to be aware of the limitations and artificiality of an exhibit in and of itself. Charles Saurmarez Smith describes the requirements of such a deconstruction process as follows:

“that there should be a mixed style of interpretation; that there should be a degree of audience involvement in the methods of display; that there should be an awareness of the amount of artificiality in methods of display; that there should be an awareness of different, but equally legitimate, methods of interpretation.”⁷⁹

This digital history project incorporates these new interpretive models by including historical maps of the regions discussed in documents, an interactive tool to read and scan the original document, an accompanying podcast to include varying viewpoints on the topic, and transcriptions of the original documents which all fit Smith’s recommended model of more conscientious exhibition.

78. Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native Americans in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

79. *The New Museology*, Peter Vergo, ed. (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1989), 20.

Digital History

In recent years, an attempt has been made to further define both digital history and digital humanities (DH). How do they complement each other? How are these two subfields of history at odds? This project is, at its heart, an extension of the historical narrative on the fur trade in eighteenth-century America. With that goal in mind, it is necessary to first define how digital history exists on the web today. The question of whether or not digital history is better suited for the online world of seemingly endless amounts of text and data available for researchers than broader and more interdisciplinary methods of DH is worth addressing in this project. Digital history is, put simply, the use of digital tools and methodologies to interpret the past. Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig's foundational work in digital history over the course of the last few decades forms the foundation for much of this project. Both Cohen and Rosenzweig have published extensively on the topics of digital history and humanities, beginning with the founding of the Center for History and New Media, now known as the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media (RRCHNM) in 1994.⁸⁰ The Center serves as a central repository for research and projects exploring digital humanities as a democratizing service through web interfaces. One of their early publications, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* lays out a roadmap for scholars new to digital history, as well as seasoned professionals, including a good historiography of digital history development since the early nineteen-nineties.⁸¹ Historian Stephen Robertson takes the discussion further with his 2016 article "The Differences between Digital Humanities and Digital History," in *Debates*

80. "What we do," *The Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media*, accessed July 8, 2017, <https://rrchnm.org/what-we-do/>.

81. Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

in *Digital Humanities*, 2016. He argues that the digital humanities, as an umbrella over digital history, does not necessarily exist outside of DH, but requires an interdisciplinary approach in order to fully utilize the resources becoming available to digital humanists, as each discipline requires its own methodologies and asks its own questions.⁸² Yet with this positive outlook on digital humanities as an accepted methodology for history and humanities studies, he warns of grouping the disciplines comprising DH together under a single “big tent,” and argues for the partitioning of particular disciplinary standards, such as digital history standards. Traditional methodologies apply when pursuing digital history projects, such as this exhibition. In other words, the exhibit and visualization is driven by primary source materials, and involves traditional practices of evidentiary theories. The audience for digital history includes professionals, students, and the general public interested in history. This project is presented as an exhibit in order to curate a selection of documents from the FHS archive, but might also spur deeper research into the topics being displayed.

The FHS Library of Florida History is first and foremost an archive of state-related documentary materials. It is because of the organization’s continued role as steward of these materials, that a discussion of archival theory is necessary. The archive has a long and complex history in western society, stretching back centuries, yet the modern era archival science, beginning in the mid-twentieth century established guidelines and best practices which the Florida Historical Society has existed within. One of the earliest works to tackle the professionalization of archival theory and work was Theodore Schellenberg’s *Modern Archives*:

82. Stephen Robertson, “The Differences Between Digital Humanities and Digital History,” *Debates in Digital Humanities*, 2016, Mathew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein, eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), accessed February 18, 2017, <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/76>.

Principles and Techniques, first published in 1956. The book outlines to what end an archive functions, how records are distinguished and stored, publication theory, and just about everything else one might need to find when exploring the profession and work of archivists. One distinguishing characteristic of *Modern Archives*, however, is its dedication to developing and fostering an American model for archival theory. Even today, most formal archival training begins with at least a glancing look at *Modern Archives*, and Schellenberg's models have driven how collections are arranged and presented to this day. In the twenty-first century, archival collections are evolving away from Schellenberg's American model, to include digital access through exhibitions of either partial or entire collections. Historian Cheryl Beredo further extrapolates on the lasting role of Schellenberg's work as encompassing a type of "archival allegory," which he uses to tell the story of a uniquely American manner and format of preserving memory.⁸³ She argues that the archive is itself a text which the archivist authors and the historian interpret. This project is writing a new form of text; the Florida Historical Society becomes the author in that the Society dictates the materials that are available digitally for research, existence of transcriptions, interpretive podcasts, and interactive contemporary and historic maps. In doing so, this exhibit project propels the work of Schellenberg into the twenty-first century, when archives are increasingly becoming a shared product of the digital environment.

This digital exhibit project utilizes original materials from an established archive in order to curate the materials in a way that enhances the visualization of an historical question; in this

83. Cheryl Beredo, "Archival Allegory? Cultural Studies and T. R. Schellenberg's *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques*," *Provenance: Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 26, no.1 (2008), accessed January 14, 2017, <http://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/provenance/vol26/iss1/3>.

case the impact of cultural exchange brought on by the fur trade in eighteenth-century Florida. The exhibit takes advantage of what historian Edward Ayers described as, “the mass, multiplicity, speed, reiteration, reflexivity, and precision offered by computers.”⁸⁴ In fact, the new frontier of digital exhibits of archival materials enhances the democratization of history by expanding the reach to a global audience to be accessed at any time. A central part of the archivist’s job is not only providing for access to materials, but also good stewardship practices. Stewardship involves two main principles: the first being physical maintenance and preservation of materials, the second being the practice of utilizing new technology to serve the organizational needs of an archive. Each method essentially satisfies the same goal, which is preservation and access.

Since the organization’s inception in 1856, the goal of the Florida Historical Society has been dedicated to “gathering and preserving information, artifacts, and relics pertaining to the history of St. Augustine and the State of Florida.”⁸⁵ Over the course of the last century and a half, the Society’s mission statement has evolved to include not only updated collection and preservation practices, but also the dissemination of this material through print publications and other outlets. One of the key outreach tools for the FHS since its inception in 2008, has been the Society’s weekly radio magazine, *Florida Frontiers*. Written, created, narrated, and produced by the Society’s Executive Director, Dr. Benjamin D. Brotemarkle, *Florida Frontiers* reaches listeners of Florida’s affiliate public radio stations throughout the state. Each thirty-minute

84. Edward L. Ayers, “The Past and Futures of Digital History,” accessed July 6, 2017, <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/PastsFutures.html>.

85. Jerrell H. Shofner, *The Florida Historical Society: 1856-2004* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2004), 4.

episode features interviews and educational pieces that aim to educate the public about the history and pre-history of Florida.

Although the digital exhibit provides users with the ability to easily and quickly access materials held within an archive or library, digitization also preserves the information being presented. The FHS Library and Archive is responsible for maintaining the materials within its collection, and in doing so, must still make materials available for research. The online exhibit allows the FHS to “make available original research material in its possession on equal terms of access,” as stated in the Society’s most recent *Collections Management Manual and General Policies*, without pulling the original documents from their archival housing.⁸⁶ Thus, the archive becomes a museum, making materials available to a wide audience for interpretation and use, as archives have historically done, yet also through a new digital medium which is in keeping with the museum movement towards new means of visualization.

This digital exhibit process is an example of public history in action. Since the early 1990s, public history has become a distinct subfield within history as more and more scholars and students move away from drafting traditional research projects in the form of peer-reviewed papers and books, and begin to diversify the ways in which historical interpretations are presented and discussed. The coining of the term “public history,” according to a 1991 article in *The History Teacher* by David Kyvig, can be attributed to Professor Robert Kelley at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 1976. Kyvig argues, however, that public history can actually trace its roots to the nineteenth century Bancroft-school historians who believed that the

86. Florida Historical Society, *Collections Management Manual and General Policies* (unpublished), revised March, 2017.

academic study of history should exist to “engage, inform and enhance public life.”⁸⁷ So public history as a subfield of “traditional” history, more accurately reflect a “coming full circle” for the historical community as we move closer towards public engagement and diversified mediums for information exchange and exhibition. As argued by historians such as Stephen Robertson, the field of public history has given audiences outside of the classroom an interaction with professional historical research, thus taking primary source material from the archive and into the world.⁸⁸

Podcasting

One problem uncovered while collecting materials for this online exhibit, and for any collection of archival materials for exhibition, is the inherent problems arising from mediation. In essence, the creator of the exhibit controls the information being presented by only including certain material that will further explore an interpretation, as discussed in the previous section on museology and the challenges faced by traditional museum exhibits. This project has dealt with the problem of mediating these fur trade documents by including audio podcasts which provide deeper contextual engagement with the materials presented in the exhibit.

A new medium of communication becoming increasingly popular among historians and those outside of the profession is the use of podcasts to present historical narratives. Since 2008,

87. David E. Kyvig, “Introducing Students to Public History,” *The History Teacher* 24, no. 4 (Aug. 1991): 445-454. In this article, Kyvig explains how history as a collaborative relationship between academia and the public began to fracture in the early 20th century, and those who felt left out of the academic community moved into other professions outside of teaching and formed separate professional organizations (American Association for State and Local History, Society of American Archivists, Association of Museums etc.). By the late 20th century, graduate students found employment in fields outside of academia and formed their own cohorts who began exploring new ways of interpreting history for different audiences.

88. Stephen Robertson, “The Differences Between Digital Humanities and Digital History,” *Debates in Digital Humanities*, 2016 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 76, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/>.

the Florida Historical Society has produced a weekly radio magazine known as *Florida Frontiers*, as a public outreach program to engage the public with Florida history through an old, but revitalized, medium. The podcast is aired throughout the state on participating public radio stations. It is also archived and available for free download from the Florida Historical Society's website. As of March, 2017, the FHS has produced two hundred seventy episodes, each approximately thirty minutes in length. The program is comprised of individually produced pieces which culminate into a single show, narrated by the FHS's Executive Director (2008–present), Dr. Benjamin Brotemarkle. One of those pieces examines selected archival materials from the FHS collection. Each week the Director of Educational Resources, Benjamin DiBiase, and Dr. Brotemarkle describe and discuss the significance of various collections within the realm of Florida history. Three of those segments include the papers of PL&CO. Each of the three segments has already aired live around the state, and is also available on the FHS website for free download. Including podcasts in this exhibit is what ultimately sets this particular project apart from other digital exhibit projects, such as those produced through the DPLA. Each exhibit panel features a five- to eight-minute long segment from the *Florida Frontiers* radio program which describes the documents on display in the exhibit, while also providing background context and commentary which will further engage the exhibit's patrons.

Podcasts are wholly a product of the twenty-first century's ability to quickly share information via the World Wide Web. With information moving at an increasingly quickened pace, podcasts often allow listeners to slow this process of information overload and distill information at a more manageable pace. There is so much information available through the internet, finding ways to manage one's searches and narrow internet inquiries down to applicable

content is really where podcasting can find its origins. Early Harvard blogger Dave Winer envisioned in the early part of the twenty-first century a way in which aggregates of people could communicate and share information through the internet in a faster and more seamless manner; thus the blog was born.⁸⁹ While at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society, Winer collaborated with radio host Christopher Lyndon to produce the first podcast in 2003 and syndicate the program using Really Simple Syndication (RSS) feeds, specially built to accommodate audio files.⁹⁰ This new process has revolutionized how audio files could essentially “come alive” and become accessible to exponentially more listeners than ever before. Multimedia content had been available on the internet for years prior to 2003, but it was the combination of radio-style interview content, RSS feed capability, and the creation of online multimedia management systems such as Apple’s iTunes ,which laid the foundation for projects such as *Florida Frontiers* to exist. Approximately one year later, Ben Hammersley coined the term “podcast” in an article he wrote for the *Guardian* and this deceptively simple technology has only growth since then.⁹¹

The next step in the process of podcast development was the adoption of this new technology as an interpretive medium for educators. Supplementing traditional methods of education, specifically the teaching of the humanities and history, podcasts provide teachers with an outlet which enables a multidimensional analysis of a particular topic or narrative. Educators refer to this type of interaction as “receptive viewing.” In other words, it “presents information

89. Colleen Walsh, “The podcast revolution,” *The Harvard Gazette*, accessed November 20, 2016, <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2011/10/the-podcast-revolution/> October 27, 2011.

90. Ibid.

91. Ben Hammersley, “Audible Revolution,” *The Guardian*, February 12, 2004, accessed June 28, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/feb/12/broadcasting.digitalmedia>.

for the student to process in their own time in a relatively passive manner.”⁹² In a 2016 survey published by the Aalborg University in Denmark, researchers Dorina Gnaur and Hans Huttel examined the ways in which teacher-developed podcasts enhanced classroom objectives. What they found was that time could be saved when teachers produced podcasts containing fundamental learning objectives and expectations which were listened to at the student’s discretion before class, so that the classroom time could be better utilized for “higher taxonomical levels” of knowledge synthesis.⁹³ The goal, as they argue, is to present targeted content which the students can then digest at their own pace, rather than restrict all education to the classroom. This constructivist approach to higher education, and the role of the podcast as a mediator of this approach, can also be applied to the digital exhibit.⁹⁴ Similar principles involving user-driven experiences, and the ability to process information at one’s own pace, are central to this project’s methodological groundings.

Spatial History

Another key methodological component of this exhibition project is the use of both historic and contemporary maps, depicting areas mentioned and discussed in the podcasts, alongside the original documents selected. The documents presented in the exhibit were created in the backcountry borderlands environment of eighteenth-century Florida and reflect the time and place of the document being examined and analyzed through this exhibit. Exploration of

92. Dorina Gnaur and Hans Huttel, “Podcasting for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education,” Aalborg University, accessed November 20, 2016, <http://www.forskningsdatabasen.dk/en/catalog/2353448377-5-7>.

93. Ibid., 7.

94. For a discussion on constructivism and technology in the classroom, see Peter E. Doolittle and David Hicks, “Constructivism as a Theoretical Foundation for the Use of Technology in Social Studies,” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 31, no.1.

Florida's interior was relatively minimal, meaning that these fur traders represented a connection to Anglo-European life and culture for the Creek and Seminole tribes of the southeast. Their knowledge of the interior after years of trade shaped the colonial understanding of indigenous culture and the geographic understanding of the region. By combining these temporal (historical) analyses with a spatial awareness (geography), an interpretive model emerges. According to historian Edward L. Ayers, "the study of place and the study of space, in other words, converge in a heightened self-awareness that is useful for geographers and others as well."⁹⁵ Extending the historical analysis process by enriching the narrative beyond the content of the document changes the way we interface with an exhibition of materials by altering the degree to which the user can integrate both spatial and temporal frameworks to tell a story. In other words, a user can now visualize the space and time within which a set of documents was created, and the environment within which the creator(s) existed. This theory is incredibly important for this project because it not only connects the user audience to a two-dimensional collection of papers, but instead creates a third dimension of space and time to essentially transport the user from a present-day interpretative framework, to a framework contemporary to when the documents were used and created. Ayers quotes the noted Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin when relating Bakhtin's theory of how novelists have been able to weave these spatial and temporal themes seamlessly, and thus "makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins."⁹⁶ A fuller narrative emerges when combined with these multi-dimensional components. Famous digital projects already underway which involve the use of

95. Edward L. Ayers, "Turning Toward Place, Space and Time," *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, David G. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, eds. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 2.

96. *Ibid.*, 4.

primary source material interlaced with geographic information, such as the *Valley of the Shadow* project, have supported this move towards a more interdisciplinary set of research tools. An oft-cited and replicated model for sharing primary source material for a broader audience, the *Valley of the Shadow*⁹⁷ website and subsequent iterations show us that collaboration in a geospatial digital world can be applicable to a narrative, timeline-driven historical analysis. Despite the inherent differences between the narrative/documentary-driven work of historians, and the data/qualitative research tools employed by geographers, this marriage of GIS and history can be successfully employed. As historian Anne Kelley Knowles writes, although this “truism applies to both historians’ attachment to periodization as an organizing principle and geographers’ interest in explaining spatial differentiation,” a common search for causation exists.⁹⁸ Broadly stated, the parallels between how we visualize information in both disciplines are fairly close.

The study of the fur trade in the southeastern United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is a perfect model for explaining the relationship between both time and space in the historical narrative. As explained earlier in this chapter, the historical significance of this trading firm operating in this particular space at this particular time in history greatly influences the way in which we perceive and interpret the important questions regarding cultural identity and exchange on the American frontier. A great example of these spatial history ideas put into practice is University of Richmond’s *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, which integrates historic themes and narratives from American history into

97. Edward L. Ayers, “Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War,” *University of Virginia Library*, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/VoS/choosepart.html>.

98. Anne Kelley Knowles, “GIS and History,” *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS Are Changing Historical Scholarship*, Anne Kelley Knowles, ed. (Redlands, CA: ESRI Press, 2008).

contemporary user-controlled learning experiences.⁹⁹ This digital project aims to replicate and build on this concept by utilizing historic maps from the FHS collection which depict political borders, and show these borders changing over time to help illustrate the changes occurring to the indigenous and Anglo populations during this time period (see Appendix D).

Evaluation of a Digital History Project

This evolution of the digital humanities has proven challenging to define professional parameters and means of review for. Due to the rapid pace at which digital technologies change and become available, professional historical organizations and scholars must develop new methods and parameters for evaluating digital history projects such as this exhibit. As discussed earlier in this chapter, digital history projects can take on many different forms. With an increased reliance on complex big data analyses transformed into simplified visualizations, the question of proper peer review becomes difficult. Without a systematic format for how, and based on what standards, digital history projects can and should be critiqued, a gap in the scholarly aspects creating digital history narratives emerges.

The Organization of American Historians (OAH) *Journal of American History*, in conjunction with the website *History Matters*, began publishing a separate selection of reviews in 2001 dedicated to websites and, as of 2013, digital history projects. Their reviews attempt to standardize and expand the scholarly review process for non-traditional research projects, whilst keeping with the *JAH*'s "long tradition of reviewing books."¹⁰⁰ While the OAH clearly states the

99. Digital Scholarship Lab, "Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States," University of Richmond, accessed March 16, 2017, <http://dsl.richmond.edu/historicalatlas/>.

100. "Digital History Reviews," *Journal of American History*, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://jah.oah.org/submit/digital-history-reviews/>.

similarities in terms of historical merit which must exist with any professional research project, they admit that digital history projects possess certain unique characteristics including the medium through which the material is presented. For their digital history reviewers, the OAH outlines five areas which projects should all attempt to satisfy: content, design, audience, digital media, and creators.¹⁰¹ Within this framework, not only can digital history reviewers narrow and begin to standardize their approaches, but practitioners of digital history and DH can also use these points to help shape the aesthetic features of their projects.

The American Historical Association (AHA) takes this definition of professional standards for review of digital history a step further, by expanding it beyond the confines of research analogous to traditional printed texts to “scholarship that is either produced using computational tools and methods or presented using digital technologies.”¹⁰² Both professional organizations get at the heart of a serious problem with an expanding subsection of historical research, and that is the preservation of a peer-reviewed standard of evaluation that has existed amongst the historical community for over a century.

For this thesis project on the fur trade in Florida, each aforementioned category has been taken into account before, during, and after the project went live on the FHS website. First and foremost, as with any research project, the content had to be appropriate and adequately researched, and must be communicated in such a way that the user clearly understands the scope of the interpreted material. Secondly the design and use of available digital tools must be consistently considered throughout the project. Arguably the most important part of a project

101. Ibid.

102. American Historical Association, “Guidelines for the Professional Evaluation of Digital Scholarship by Historians,” accessed February 13, 2017, <https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/digital-history-resources/evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-in-history/guidelines-for-the-professional-evaluation-of-digital-scholarship-by-historians>.

must answer the question: why create a digital history project, rather than a traditional written narrative argument? The appearance must amplify, or at the very least supplement, the historical questions being raised.

CHAPTER THREE: PROJECT DETAILS

One of the first processes necessary to complete this digital exhibit is a step by step planning and development process. Certain major questions need to be answered before beginning the digitization project work. This chapter will discuss the steps taken to begin implementation of the digitization project, as well as the initial project details specific to the PL&CO documents. These steps include: planning for digital project, establishing a collection scope for curation, creating metadata (transcriptions), creating interpretive podcasts, setting up the web platform on the FHS website, and finally, making the materials live.

As discussed earlier in the methodology for this project, the new digital landscape presents challenges for a standardized development strategy. The challenges for creating and following any single standardization and method for scholarly review are apparent and evolving as new technology becomes accessible and new projects go online and begin the process of public review. The Public Library Partnerships Project (PLPP), a project of the Digital Public Library of America (DPLA) website, has developed, over the course of the last few years, a pilot program aimed at providing digital skills training for public librarians for “digitizing, describing and exhibiting their cultural heritage content.”¹⁰³ The DPLA worked with several other statewide and national digital exhibition project managers to devise a set of training tools created from tried-and-true best practices, as outlined by professionals in the field. The result is a free online “New Self-Guided Curriculum for Digitization” available through their staff blog website. Contributors each write a separate module based on the needs and basic flow of a digitization

103. Franky Abbot, “New Self-Guided Curriculum for Digitization,” *Digital Public Library of America*, accessed December 14, 2016, <https://dp.la/info/2015/10/07/new-self-guided-curriculum-for-digitization/>.

project, aimed specifically at public librarians, yet broad enough to be utilized by historical societies, museums, universities, and other organizations seeking to create a digital platform for their cultural heritage materials. Much of this project's basic program flow was based on the guidelines established by this workshop group. Although individual challenges certainly emerged before, during, and after the project's timeline, the baseline established in these curriculum guides helped to shape the work for this project. DPLA's exhibits are created using an open-source content management system known as Omeka, created by the RRCHNM. Omeka was designed specifically for museums, libraries, and archives to create narratives and share collections online. The program has been adopted by many organizations, including historical societies and universities, as a user-friendly program that enables students to help in the content management process, without possessing intimate programming knowledge. Although the DPLA's content model has been used as a basis for this project, the detailed work of creating the exhibit is done through the FHS's existing content management platform, Drupal. Created as a framework system for any website (outside humanities), its modules allow for more complex visualizations of materials, as well as more aesthetically pleasing exhibits. Drupal's exhibit features were rather simple to become familiar with. After planning the exhibit's components, execution of plans using Drupal modules on the FHS website became much easier to implement. The project began with an outline of how these materials would be displayed, based on historical questions surrounding the fur trade.

Planning for the Exhibit

This project's goals, as explained in the introduction, are to enhance the use and study of a particular period in history, specifically Florida's history, by use of a free, online digital curation of original documents housed at the Florida Historical Society's Library of Florida History. Furthermore, through the use of podcasts generated by the FHS, each collection of documents includes a discussion about the documents, providing depth and context to the documents in the exhibit. Initial planning began with the production of two podcasts for the Florida Historical Society's Weekly Radio Magazine, *Florida Frontiers*. Airing statewide on public radio stations, and available for download through various podcasting applications, the program features a recurring segment discussing materials housed within the FHS archives. Some feedback being received by the Society included requests for images of the documents and materials being discussed in the podcast. A natural expansion of that podcast segment already being created by the FHS was an online exhibition of materials that were discussed on the radio program.

The PL&CO papers encompass over twelve hundred documents, with dates of creation ranging from the late seventeenth century through the end of the nineteenth century. Wading through this collection to arrive at only a handful of documents which are representative of the entire collection, and also weave a narrative of cultural contact and change over time presents a host of unique problems. Schellenberg splits archived materials into two categories as having "informational value" versus "evidential value," meaning that the text itself holds value, but the

metadata included with the archival holdings possesses its own.¹⁰⁴ In other words, deciding how and to what extent each document selected represented the project's goals was at times in conflict with the archival theories of valuation. When the finding aid was created, the items were arranged in chronological order. Very little importance was placed on contextual significance, e.g.; rare documents relating trade arrangements between indigenous groups and European traders versus routine business correspondence between company partners.¹⁰⁵ The stated mission of this digitization process was to identify, curate, and display materials relating to the cultural exchange brought about by the fur trade. Although minutes from "talks" between the Seminole, Creek, and PL&CO heads were apparently applicable to this project, not all "routine" business correspondence could be automatically left out of the project's narrative. Selecting relevant documents that could best narrate the ways in which the PL&CO represented a conduit for cultural exchange in Florida was a primary goal.

First, each individual collection of documents (GP, CP) needed to be assessed individually, although there is quite a bit of similar data. As discussed earlier, the collection of PL&CO materials is actually comprised of two separate donations to the FHS at different times, from two descendants of an original PL&CO partner, John Innerarity.

It is important to briefly distinguish between the two collections held within the FHS archives, and explain why each collection is stored separately. John Innerarity, the last surviving partner in the firm John Forbes & Co., (JF&CO) successor to the PL&CO died in Pensacola on

104. Cheryl Beredo, "Archival Allegory? Cultural Studies and T.R. Schellenberg's Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques," *Provenance: Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 26. no. 1 (2008): 28, accessed January 14, 2017, <http://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/provenance/vol26/iss1/3>.

105. Benjamin DiBiase, "Guide to the Panton, Leslie & Co. (Greenslade Papers); Benjamin DiBiase, "Guide to the Panton, Leslie & Co. (Cruzat Papers).

July 28, 1854.¹⁰⁶ Originally hailing from Aberdeen, Scotland, as well as many of his fellow company partners, Innerarity was integral in securing enormous wealth for his trading house before the end of Spanish rule in Florida, and the beginning of the War of 1812, both events leading to the end of the fur trade.¹⁰⁷ Of Innerarity's decedents, the company papers that he apparently kept throughout his life were passed down to two of his relatives. The bulk of the company papers wound up with Mrs. Mary Taylor Greenslade of Washington, D.C. It was Mrs. Greenslade who began organizing, transcribing, and preparing for publication, a collection of materials in the early part of the twentieth century. She prepared a series of documents for both the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*. According to a letter from former FHS president Julien C. Yonge, Mrs. Greenslade worked quite closely with the Louisiana Historical Society and it was assumed that her PL&CO papers would end up with them.¹⁰⁸ After her death, however, the papers were sent by her daughter, Mrs. Marie Cruzat de Verges to the Florida Historical Society. At the same time, Mrs. Heloise Cruzat, a native of New Orleans and a descendent of John Innerarity, had also begun compiling and organizing her collection of documents relating to the family's fur trade business. Both women were keenly aware of the historical significance of these papers, and both worked to publish and find long-term repositories for the documents, although the provenance record does not clearly state how the materials came into the possession of both Mrs. Greenslade and Mrs. Cruzat. Both women had sent their papers to Ms. Elizabeth West, a researcher and librarian with the Library of

106. "Old Paper Tells of Innerarity's Passing in 1854," unpublished memorial, Greenslade Papers, Correspondence Files, Library of Florida History, Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, FL.

107. *Panama City Pilot*, August 20, 1925, Greenslade Papers, Correspondence Files, Library of Florida History, Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, FL.

108. Julien C. Yonge to Mr. Watt Marchman, March 5, 1939, Greenslade Papers, Correspondence Files, Library of Florida History, Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, FL.

Congress, to organize and transcribe the collections, which indicates that they must have kept up some correspondence concerning their individual holdings. Ms. West at one time held both collections, although there is no indication that the collections were ever combined. While the papers were in the possession of Ms. West, Mrs. Cruzat passed away and the documents eventually made their way into the FHS collections.¹⁰⁹ Throughout the late 1930s, several PL&CO documents prepared by Ms. West were published in the *FHQ*. Both collections then sat, essentially undisturbed, for several decades, until historians William Coker and Thomas Watson published their foundational study of the PL&CO and JF&CO in 1986. Both Coker and Watson had spent the previous few decades collecting information concerning the two companies, their research eventually culminating in the publication of their book, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*. Both authors scoured the globe in search of the company's footprint and eventually produced an enormous body of research. In their index they even mention their collaboration with FHS in utilizing these documents for their research.¹¹⁰ Although the documents have traveled far and wide, and have survived into the twenty-first century, it is because of the demands of a twenty-first century audience that this digital exhibit project is needed. In the thirty years since *Indian Traders* was published, much has changed in the way we understand the relationship between indigenous communities and these Anglo-European fur trading houses and this project aims to highlight indigenous legitimacy in the trade.

The benefits of creating an online exhibition are many. First, the visualization of a collection of static documents brings with it a particular narrative in a collaborative conversation, the idea being that the papers of the PL&CO contain a story that stands above simple narrative

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*, 371-374.

accounts of the company patterns. Through the interactions between indigenous groups and the company's traders, the documents reveal a different story about the agency and shifts in allegiance amongst groups in the southeast during this period. When dealing with the exhibition and history of indigenous cultures, it is vital to adhere to standards of evaluation. Historian David Neufeld designated three key issues to keep in mind when analyzing aboriginal history, including the "equalization of the power balance between the researcher and the researched," and "advocacy for change in the professional discourse."¹¹¹ So, with this framework in mind, the selection of representative documents began.

Of the over twelve hundred documents housed in both the CP and GP, the first goal was to set a chronological framework from which to draw. As discussed earlier, both collections contain overlapping material so both collections needed to be searched simultaneously. As discussed in an earlier chapter, both the PL&CO and JF&CO found success in the fur trade immediately after the British lost control of both East and West Florida. They filled a trade vacuum which the incoming Spanish authorities desperately needed beginning in the mid-1780s. The PL&CO reached a point of rapid market share growth beginning in the decade of the 1790s. It was over the course of the next fifteen years that the company grew tremendously, and then reached a point of decelerated growth and massive accumulation of credit loaned at the turn of the century. After the death of William Panton and the consolidation of company partners, which resulted in a name change, the JF&CO shifted the company's primary focus away from the fur trade, towards other trade markets and debt collection stemming from the fur trade. The documents created during this time period represent this rapid expansion and sudden shift in

111. David Neufeld, "Ethics in the Practice of Public History with Aboriginal Communities," *The Public Historian* 28, no. 1 (2006): 118.

company policy. It is through these documents that the narrative of cultural exchange and shifting levels of control begin to emerge.

So, with these chronological end points set, it was time to begin combing the collections for documents relating specifically to the fur trade, and the voices of indigenous actors in this exchange. The podcasts were created with this timeline in mind. The first in the series is entitled, “The Trade on the Ground.” In other words, the first podcast dealt primarily with documents that illustrated the actual work involved in the fur trade in Florida. Two documents found represented the tone and nature of materials traded during that time, so they were selected for the project. The first, dated 1796, and the second, 1798, included lists of goods sought by a PL&CO trader for use in the Creek towns within which he was working. In exchange, the author notes skins as a commodity for said items (see Appendix A).

The second section of the exhibit, and the second podcast, is entitled, “Talks with the Native Americans,” and includes four documents: one dated 1794, one dated 1795, and two dated 1798. Each letter is a transcript of oral discussions made within the Creek territory to the PL&CO owners in regards to trade, diplomacy, and other matters. These letters illustrate the dialogue that existed between the traders and the indigenous communities they traded with. Tone, language, and length of letter all tell us quite a bit about the nature of the trade, and the nature of these relationships. Earlier letters include very little in regards to debt, yet address broader issues of grazing agreements between indigenous groups and William Panton, illustrating ways in which the Creek and Seminole maintained a level of bargaining power in trade negotiations (see Appendix B).

The last podcast follows in chronological order the history of the company's relationships with the various indigenous groups, and focuses exclusively on negotiations over land cessions for payment of debts. This period, marked by a decline in the fur trade and the rise of the Innerarity brothers as company leaders within JF&CO, is underscored by these land cession agreements. Each of the letters, dated 1801, 1802, and 1803, relates to the various agreements and discussions surrounding a comprehensive land deal, although negotiations went on for another decade (see Appendix C).¹¹²

With a collection of selected documents, a temporal timeline, and thematic flow determined, the next step in the project was the digitization and transcription of the selected materials.

Transcription and Digitization

The Florida Historical Society graciously allowed for the scanning of the documents selected for exhibition from the PL&CO collections. Each document was carefully removed from its protective acid-free folder, then scanned as a .jpeg file and stored on the FHS server. Each page was carefully opened and scanned to include any and all information as it appears on the original text. Attention was paid to review each digital scan before moving on to another document to ensure proper retention of information. No digital manipulation was applied to enhance, or change the color of, any document. The goal, as stated in an early chapter, is to create a digital exhibit of the materials just as they would appear in a traditional museum exhibit,

112. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 239-272.

limiting mediation, even though the current software technology might allow for visual enhancements. In keeping with contemporary archival practice, all documents were handled wearing white cotton gloves, and were manipulated using small tweezers and other hand tools in order to limit the risk of damage during scanning. Many of the documents have been preserved in relatively good condition. Much of this preservation is due to the chemical makeup of the eighteenth century paper. More contemporary methods of paper production yielded high levels of corrosive chemicals which, over time, lead to the deterioration and instability of a paper document. Thus, it was important to follow best practices when handling and manipulating these materials for digitization.¹¹³ All digital scans were organized on the Society's servers, and work on the second phase of the digitization process then began.

Each document is hand written, often in a vernacular dialect that can be difficult to discern, especially for someone viewing the documents as an exhibit. It is due to this difficulty, and the traditional manner in which historians access and utilize primary source material, that each document has been completely transcribed, without any inclusion of editorial notes. With this particular project, the podcasts act as an editorial annotation to the original documents that will guide non-specialized users through the texts, whilst preserving the originality of each document for detailed perusal and mediation. To that end, each original digital scan is also made available to aid researchers as well as exhibit patrons. Borrowing methodology from the Yale Indian Papers Project (YIPP) in regards to scholarly versus public transcriptions, this project aims to satisfy both audiences and eventually expand the amount of material accessible digitally

113. "Caring for your Treasures: Document and Art on Paper," *Paper Conservation Catalog*, American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.conservation-us.org/about-conservation/caring-for-your-treasures/paper#.WRMk09y1uM8>.

through the FHS website. The YIPP is a multi-institutional consortium which, through the direction of Yale University, has compiled into one digital platform a collection of primary source materials relating to indigenous populations in the northeastern United States to address the problem of too few digital outlets for this type of scholarly material.¹¹⁴ The inclusion of both the original document and a typed transcription allows the user to choose their method of narrative, whether that is through the mediated podcast, or through the perusal of a digital representation of the original document. Although this project is not a complete archive, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the selection of representative documents can help begin another research topic by an interested party. Each document was meticulously scanned and a hand-written transcription was then produced. From this hand-written description, the typed transcription was created using simple word processing software, and using the digital copy as a reference to help with any passages that might have been difficult to discern (see Appendices A, B, C).

Creating the web platform

The final component of this digital history project was the creation of the web platform within the FHS webpage to exhibit the materials. First, a familiarization with the FHS web platform, the software utilized, and the capabilities of the platform was necessary. The FHS webpage in its current form went live in May of 2014. The website is powered by Drupal 7 (D7) Content Management Software (CMS). It is an open-source framework for website design and function. The Drupal CMS is different from other webpage platforms because of its “flexibility”

114. “Editorial Methodology,” *Yale Indian Papers Project*, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://yippp.yale.edu/collections/editorial-methodology>.

and “modularity,” in terms of design and structure.¹¹⁵ The platform is built on a network of user-generated modules and add-ons which allow for customization of webpages. In other words, the Drupal webpage platform is designed to be modular and integrate new added features and tools, such as those that were necessary to display the digital representations of images, the transcriptions, and, of course, the podcasts as streaming and downloadable files.

Created in 2001 by two Dutch college students, the Drupal content framework began as a means by which to wirelessly communicate between multiple users. The name itself is a malapropism for the Dutch word “dorp,” which means “village” but was mistyped by the organization’s co-founder Dries Buytaert as “drop.” The Dutch word for “drop” was then used for the final URL and drupal.org was born.¹¹⁶ According to the company’s stated history, for the last sixteen years, users have driven the CMS framework as new versions of the software become available.

A major hurdle was first identifying whether or not this system would be compatible with the requirements of the digital exhibit. Could the exhibit module be manipulated in such a way that would include all features necessary for the intended narrative? This project is a collaborative effort with FHS. The webpage has existed for several years, prior to the beginning of this project, and thus was already designed and included a number of basic features that made the creation of the exhibit a practice in inserting the relevant information into the correct empty fields. With this in mind, all modules and alterations needed to conform to FHS styles, website layout, and overall design features, but most of these overall designs were already in place before beginning. After spending time studying other FHS webpages, including a collection of online

115. “About” *Drupal*, accessed January 23, 2017, <https://www.drupal.org/about>.

116. “Our History: Behind the Name,” *Drupal*, <https://www.drupal.org/about/history>, accessed March 17, 2017.

exhibits with static pages, access was granted through a password for editing. The D7 platform is altered as a living entity. In other words, any changes, additions, or alterations made to the existing platform become active and accessible immediately, unless the page is designated as “non-active.” The existing FHS exhibits included only static images of educational panels, similar to those that would be found in a traditional museum exhibit. This project includes several user-controlled features including a digital document, a streaming podcast, and an interactive map. After logging into the editorial side of the webpage, a simple dropdown menu labeled “content” at the top of the page includes an “add content” feature. By simply clicking on the “add content” button, the website automatically creates a blank web form with several blank fields in which to begin inserting metadata tags for the project. The main page which was first created is the top-tier primary page of the exhibit. With this in mind, each new module becomes an entity of the broader primary page. Every section of the exhibit and the features are all considered subsidiary sections of the original primary exhibit page. D7 identifies this type of relationship between content sections as “taxonomy.” Just as scientific naming structures work from a “top-down” granulation, so, too, does this software recognize entities as descending or, conversely, ascending. When inserting data into the website, it is necessary to instruct the software where your content types should live, and to keep in mind this taxonomical structuring. This structuring system created a single page that flows chronologically (see Appendix G).

This first page appears as an introductory page and includes a brief two-paragraph introduction to the project, its features, and how to navigate the exhibit. A simple graphic including excerpts from original documents found in the PL&CO papers was uploaded using the “image upload” field of the D7 primary page. The description includes basic information about

the fur trade in America, with a specific introduction to the PL&CO. It also introduces the user to the types of materials available in each section, as well as briefly instructing the user to first listen to the podcasts while browsing the original documents and reading the transcription, if desired. As stated earlier when planning the exhibit, it is possible that some audiences will prefer not to listen or download the podcast, and will simply view the document as it originally appears. This exhibit allows for the user to control how they would like to experience the materials, either through more or less mediation.

The original scans were housed on the FHS server for a few weeks while the project platform was being designed. It was at this point that the images were ready for upload. One major problem was figuring out how to display different numbers of pages for each document, without simply uploading all documents without an easy way to view each page in order as if one were viewing the documents in person. This was achieved through the installation of the first D7 module add-on. D7's open-source content modules are shared freely through an online community of programmers and software users. In fact, the model that D7 is built on is a community-based online information sharing system. This is done through both Drupal-sponsored and outside discussion forums. D7's hosted and primary community center is the first place to begin searching for relevant modules already designed by free-lance and community programmers. Because the Drupal community is far reaching and driven by open dialogue, several educational videos were accessed in order to become familiar with the steps necessary in identifying, inserting, and troubleshooting any added modules.

Drupal.org includes several in-house module add-ons that can be downloaded and seamlessly integrated into an existing D7 Core website. For the image display tool one of the

best and most compatible modules found was the “intense” image field formatter. The intense module is a JavaScript or “jQuery” library which allows users to view images at full screen. One of the original goals of this project was to make these digital materials available at the highest possible viewing level. The intense module fits those parameters and it was downloaded. The module was then uploaded to the existing D7 web platform under “libraries” and appeared on the master page already created for the exhibit. The intense module is known as an image carousel and a further modification was needed.

This next step is known as “configuration and customization.” Each module is essentially a boilerplate add-on that will need to be altered depending on the needs of the entity. The project required that the images not only appear in a single field (carousel) but they also needed to open individually as a separate page in order to view the documents as a higher resolution. To do this, each section of the exhibit needed to be isolated and made recursive. This last requirement allowed the images to appear together on the main exhibit page, but upon clicking on the titles of each section, the entire section, including images, transcriptions, and podcast, needed to migrate to a new page on its own. For this particular module, after being uploaded to the D7 site, it was easily found in the “modules” page, and at the bottom of the page a “configure” button was clicked, which allowed for the customization of the module to fit the needs of the exhibit. Rather than having to understand the JavaScript coding, D7’s own modules include ready to use modules, similar to the D7 Core page, with fields and boxes that need to be designated in order to achieve the desired appearance. This configuration process included the bundling of each section’s components into a single entity within the broader entity.

With the image carousel functioning, a .pdf viewer was used to display the transcriptions. The FHS website featured an archive of *Florida Frontiers* .mp3 files which was already created on the D7 Core site. The audio files were simply uploaded into the audio module which allows for streaming play, and each transcription was also uploaded with each document.

The webpage was activated in late April of 2017 and minor alterations to features and views continued intermittently.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

This digital exhibit project contains a great deal of information about a particular time and place in American history. It employs multiple platforms (podcasts, original documents, and maps) to deliver an interactive user experience with history. One final component necessary in the democratization of historical exhibition is dialogue, or, at the very least, user feedback with the host institution. The overall theoretical goals for this project are to push the boundaries of exhibition to include a more multi-faceted interface and involvement, and to do so in a digital format. In doing so, based on the historiography of the fur trade begun with Chittenden and Phillips, and later with Coker and Watson, this project has taken the narrative of the indigenous fur trade and specifically included the experiences and narratives of those indigenous communities. The main research question for the project was thus: how do we best utilize new media and technology to push a traditional narrative (fur trade) forward? This project has taken the podcast media, coupled with archival and museum theory, to create a space so the voices of indigenous people engaged in the fur trade in Florida can be a part of the broader history of the North American fur trade. The model created using the D7 framework can now be expanded upon for use by the FHS for other Florida history exhibits. This framework will allow for increased public access to archival materials available from FHS.

However, in order to fully accomplish the former of these goals, a dialogue must exist between users and authors and, in this case, the Florida Historical Society. This is in keeping with the best practices of digital and public history as defined by organizations such as the RRCHNM, and the growing group of public historians pushing the boundary towards a distinct

method for historical interpretation.¹¹⁷ This is accomplished in two ways. First, the FHS must track visitors to the exhibits page via basic Drupal analytics tools. Each Drupal Core website has the ability to track how many “hits,” or visits, a particular page receives. This information can then be collated in such a way as to analyze webpage traffic during a set period of time. Second, user feedback must be monitored and assessed by FHS staff in order to shape the exhibits to best serve the user base.

The *Fur Trade in Florida* exhibit invites user feedback via the FHS Facebook page in order to foster some discussion and growth for future FHS exhibits. If amenable to the FHS, a separate Facebook group could be created simply for the purpose of improving upon existing FHS outreach programs, including exhibits. This group page would be monitored by the FHS Educational Resources Department.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the exhibit is housed on the FHS *Educational Resources* webpage with other FHS exhibits. With the creation of the custom configured image carousel modules and map slider modules, these shells can be utilized for other exhibits using other Florida history topics. This exhibit has allowed the FHS to expand its educational resources to include new exhibits focused specifically on primary source material from their collections. Without the physical museum space available, the FHS can now utilize the existing modules created during this project to include themed digital exhibits that are complementary to the mission of the organization.

If the reason why historians work is to uncover truths and explore new avenues for understanding our shared past, then it is imperative that they use new media in digital history.

117. Weil, *Making Museums Matter*, 66-69.

Further still, we will be limiting our own capabilities as public historians if we do not pursue new media.¹¹⁸

118. Bookspan, "History, Historians and Visual Entertainment Media," 13.

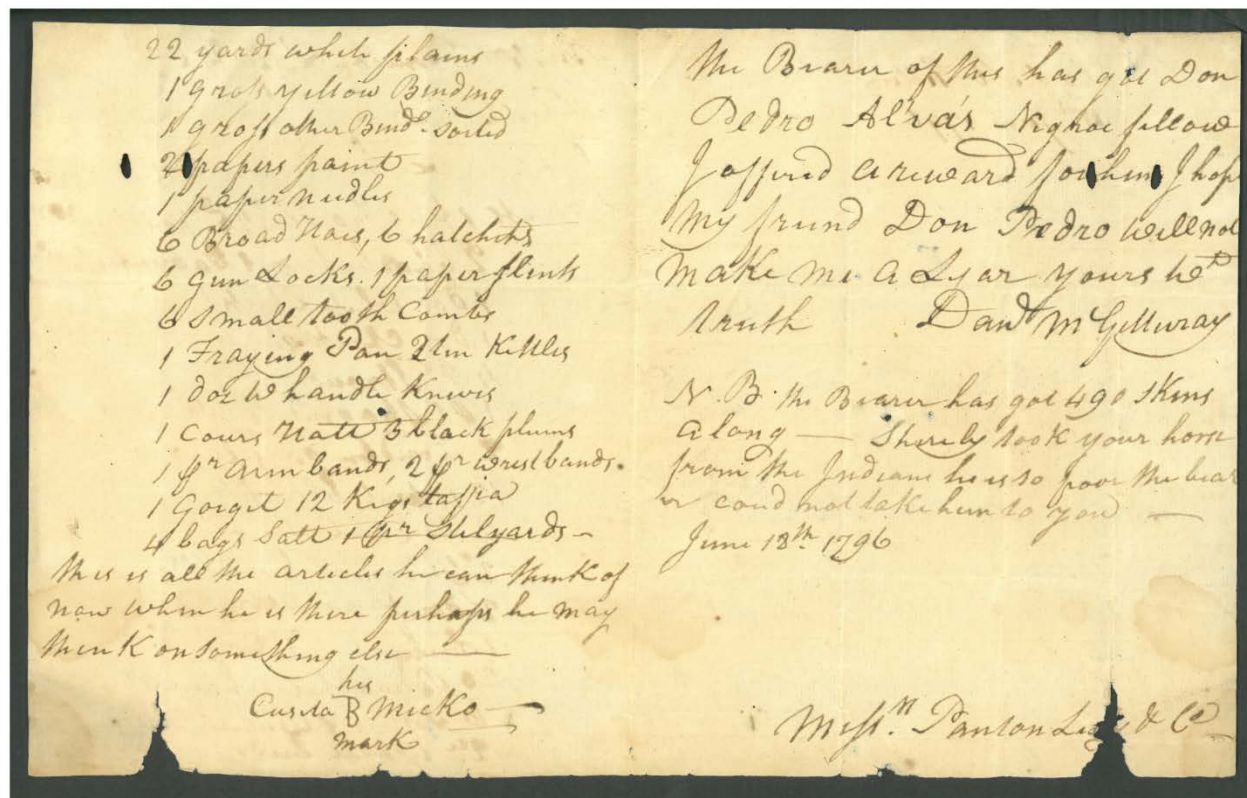
APPENDIX A: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL
SECTION ONE (TRADE ON THE GROUND)



June 18th, 1796 letter from Daniel McGillivray (cover page)

Major Daniel Lally & Co
Gentlemen

The Bann Ousewmees
wants 1 bag powder 25th powder do
2 bags bullets 1 bag bullets do
1 doz white shirts
1 doz Check shirts
4 yds Stroud
1 yd Skagind duffels
2 London duffels
12 1/2 yds blankets
2 yds Ew Calico
2 yds Romal handker
2 doz ear bobs
1 bush B. Corn Buds
20 Broaches 4 hair Pipes
6 Sisars & Bunch M. Campum
24 white buds



June 18th, 1796 letter from Daniel McGillivray (pages 2-3)

Transcription of letter dated June 18th, 1796:

Messrs Panton Lesly & Co

Gentlemen

The Bearer Cusitaw Mico

Wants 1 bag powder 25 powder Do
 2 bags bullets 1 bag bullets do
 1 doz white shirts
 1 doz check shirts
 4 ps Shrouds
 1 ps shagend duffels
 2 London duffels
 12 1il pint blankets
 2 ps EW Callicoe
 2 ps romal handk rs
 2 doz pr earbobs
 1 bunch B. corn Beeds
 20 Broaches, 4 hair Pipes

6 Sisars 1 Bunch M Wampum
2 White beads

/ page 2

22 yards white pilans
1 gross yellow Binding
1 gross other Bind. sorted
2 papers paint
1 paper needles
6 Broad nails, 6 hatchets
6 gun Locks, 1 paper flints
6 small tooth combs
1 fraying Pan, 2 tin Kettles
1 doz W handle Knives
1 Cours Hatt Black plums
1 pr Arm bands, 2 pr wrist bands
1 Gorget 12 Kegs taffia
4 bags Salt, 1 pr stilyards ~

This is all the articles he can think of
now When he is here perhaps he may
think of something else ~

his
Cusita Micko
mark

/ page 3

The Bearer of this has got Don
Pedro Alva's Nigroe fellow
I offered around for him I hope
My friend Don Pedro will not
Mark me a lyar yours with
truth Dan McGillivray

N.B. the Bearer has got 490 skins
along ~ Shirely took your horses
from the Indians he is so poor the bear-
er could not take them to you ~
June 18th 1796

Messrs Panton Lesly & Co

/cover page

Danl. McGillvray
18th June 1796

Order for goods
to Messrs Panton
Lesly & Compy.



July 8th, 1798 letter from James McQueen (cover page)

✓ Left Stroud 1798 Feb. 8
~~1/2 doz Duffles~~ 1 1/2 doz. Yokohu Daffels
~~1/2 doz Shag and Blankets~~
~~1/2 doz Blankets~~
 ✓ 1 gross Scotch gartering
 ✓ 2 gross binding
~~1 gross Caddice~~
 ✓ 2 doz Beads. (One knows what sort)
 ✓ 1 Horse load ammunition
 ✓ 8 Higgs. 18 1/2 Gall.
 ✓ 1 Higg. Same. 2 doz
 ✓ 6 baggs. Salt. 8 bags
 ✓ 2 baggs. Sugar — do
 ✓ 20 doz Coffee — do
 ✓ 6 doz gun locks — 2 Common Gunlocks
 ✓ 2 beaver traps
 ✓ 6 Hoes
 ✓ 250 gun flints
 ✓ 3 Bords stettles (One can tell you) 13th

Dr Sir
 Tallesee. 8th Feby 1798

I have sent you by John
 twelve horse load leather, and have sent
 a mem^o of Sundries wanting, which
 you will please send me. By return
 of my horses. I have a few goods on
 hand but such as. do not answer the



July 8th, 1798 letter from James McQueen (page 3)

Transcription of letter dated July 8th, 1798:

Messrs. Panton Leslie & Co

Merchants

Pensacola

/pg2

1 left Shroud

----- 1 ½ Yorkshire Duffel

----- blankets

✓ 1 gross Scotch gartering

✓ 2 gross bindings

----- Cardice

- ✓ 2 do Cut Beads (Ino knows what sort)
- ✓ 1 Horse load ammunition
- ✓ 8 Keggs Taffia Keggs 18 ½ Gall
- ✓ 1 Kegg Jam. Rum ----- 2 do
- ✓ 6 baggs. Salt ----- 6 bags
- ✓ 2 baggs. Sugar do
- ✓ ----- gunlocks 7 common Gunlocks
- ✓ 2 beaver Traps
- ✓ 6 Hoes
- ✓ 250 gun flints
- ✓ 3 Brass kettles (Ino can tell you) 13 lbs

Dr Sir Tallasee 8 Feby 1798

I have sent you by John
12 horse load leather, and have sent
a Memo of Sundries wanting, which
you will Please send me by return
of my horses _ I have a few goods on
hand but such as do not answer the

/pg3

trade_ goods is very scarce in the land
numbers have been to the Rock landg
and have got goods. there is none there
now_ W. Bruce is just from the
Cussetaws. he tells me Marshall hew returned
without a yard of shroud _ you may
rely I cannot get without
goods _ I think Skins will be a begging
for goods here _ the Cussitaws gone
out to take Satisfaction for the one
Killedat the Oconee. What will be the
Justice. god knows _ Pray write me horo
the war goes on and What Prospect of
a Peace, Send me the news Papers if
you have any to spare pray dispatch
my boy as quick as you Can, and
believe me to be with Respect

Dr. Sir

Your Obd. Servant

James McQueen

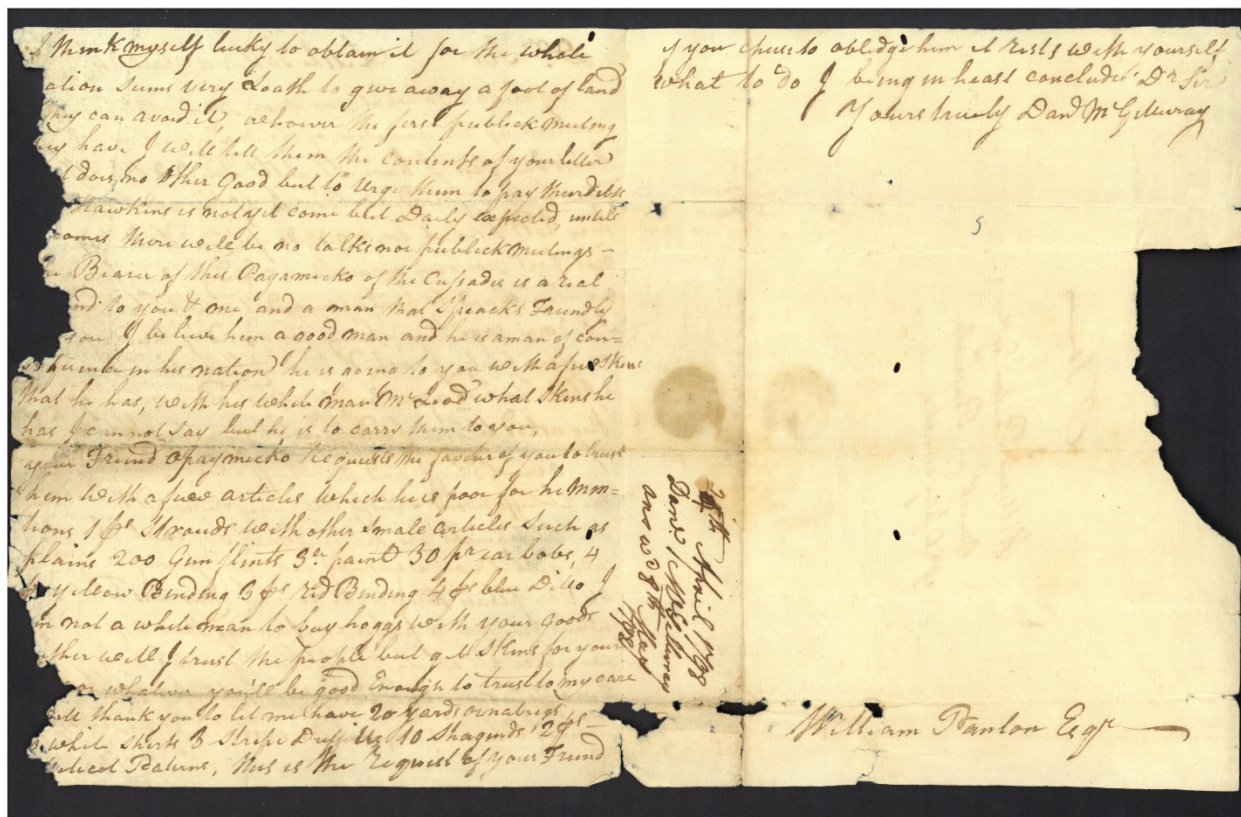
**APPENDIX B: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL
SECTION TWO (TALKS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS)**



Letter dated April 24th, 1798 (cover)

Dr. Sir. Little Tallahas April 24th 1798
Agreeable to what you wrote me the 18th march
concerning the quantity of Land sufficient to pay
debts due you I have slightly sounded the alba-
mas by their friend the Bearer of this and by who
they told him it would not do for they said they could
not part nor give away their Land for debts for they
no other Land to hunt upon and it was no talk to
I did not urge them, being convinced of their refusal
on your part. I asked them if they would grant me
a place to live upon being grown old among them
they asked where I told the alabamas chiefs I wanted
the Oven Bluff and the bluff above the land between
the 2 bluffs would satisfy me, they answered & said we
the alabamas are the real masters of that place and
we give it you, you may take possession of it as soon
as you please we owe it to you they also told me they
would give me a paper confirming their gift and to
convince all white people their giving away the
2 bluffs to me, the Bluff is right opposite the
Flower Plantation, on the east side of the Tombigbee
River

Letter dated April 24th, 1798 (page one)



Letter dated April 24th, 1798 (pages 2-3)

Transcription of letter dated April 24th, 1798:

Dr. Sir

Little Tallassees April 24th.

1798

Agreeable to what you wrote me the 18th March concerning the quantity of Lands Sufficient to pay (torn) debts due you I have slightly sounded the all (torn) mas by our friend the Bearer of this and by whi (torn) they told him it will not do for they said they co(torn) not part nor give away their Land for debts for they (torn) no other Land to hunt upon and it was no talk, (torn) I did not urge them, being convinced of their refus[al] on your part, I asked them if they would grant me a place to live upon being grown old among them They asked Where I told the alibama chiefs I wanted the Oven Bluff and the bluff and the bluff above the land between the 2 bluffs would Satisfy me, they answered & said We the alebamahs are the real masters of that place and we give it to you, you may take possession of it as soon as soon as you please We owe it to you they also told me th[ey] would give me a paper confirming their gift and to convince all white people their giving away th[e] two bluffs to me, the Bluffs is right opposite the flower Plantation, on the east side of the Tombig[by]

River

/pg2

I think myself lucky to obtain it for the whole [N]ation seems very Loath to give away a foot of land (torn) they can avoid it, whoever the first publick meeting [th]ey have I will tell them the contents of your letter (torn) does no other Good but to Urge them to pay their debts (torn) Hawkins is not yet come but Daily expected, until he comes there will be no talks nor publick meetings – [T]he Bearer of this Payamicko of the Cussades is a real [frie]nd to you and me and a man and he is a man of consequence in his nation he is going to you with a few skins that he has, with his white man McLeod what skins he has I cannot say but he is to carry them to you, Your Friend Opaymicko requists the favour of you to trust him with a fuw articles which he is poor for he mentions 1 ps strouds with other small articles such as plains 200 Gun flints 3 li. paint 30 pr ear bobs, 4 ps yellow binding 3 ps red Binding 4 ps blue Ditto I (torn) not a white man to buy hoggs with your goods [nei]ther will I trust the people but get skins for your [hous]e whatever you'll be good Enough to trust to my care [I wi]ll thank you to let me have 20 yards oznabrigs (torn) white shirts 8 stipe Duffells 10 shagends 2 ps – peticot Patterns, this is the request of your Friend

/pg3

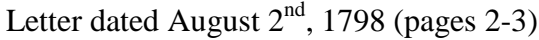
if you chuse to oblige him it rests with yourself what to do I bring in hast concluded Dr. Sir
Yours truly Dan McGillivray

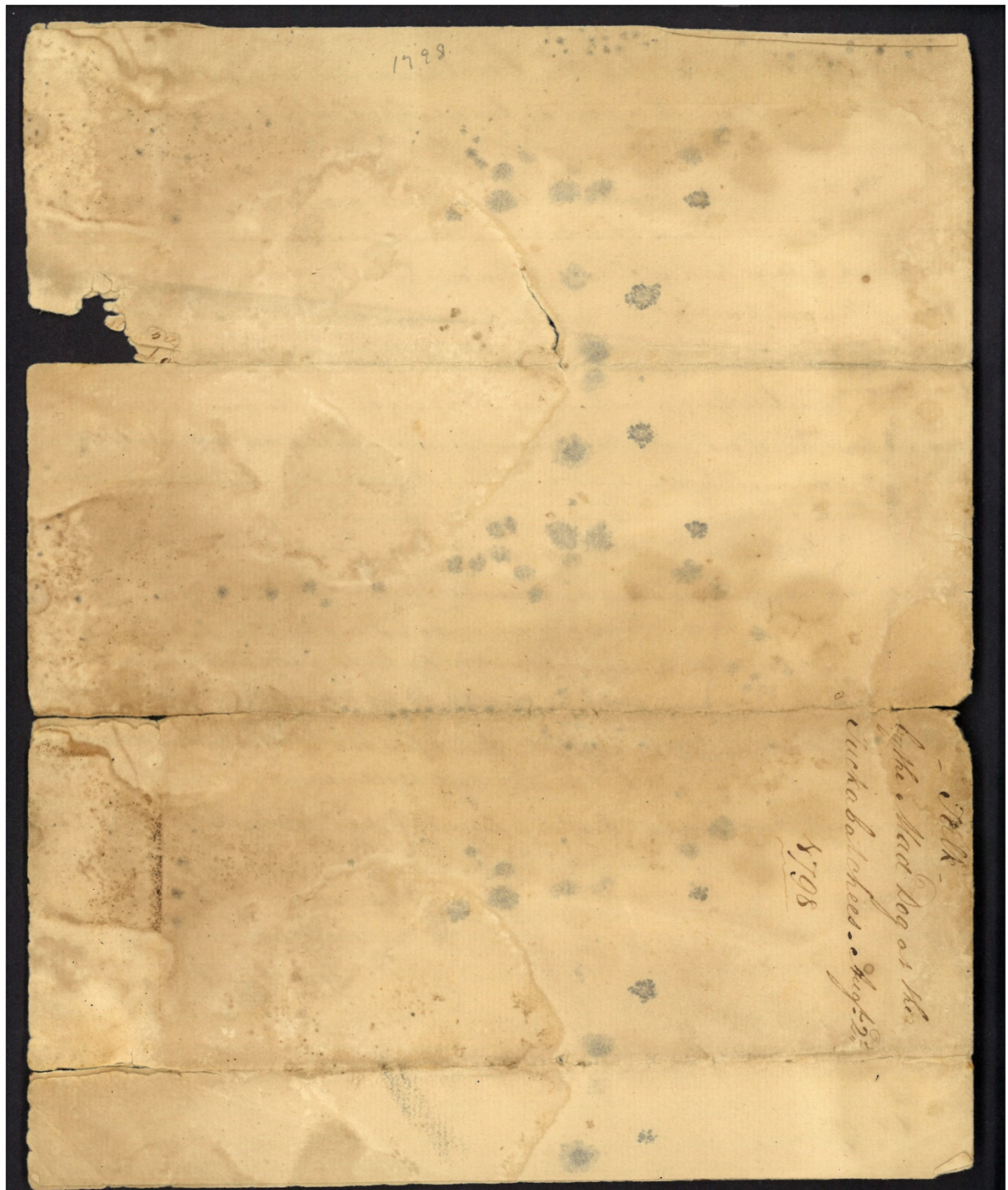
William Panton Esq ~

/pg 4

William Panton Esq –
Merch't at Pensacola
for Opayamicko -

Thomas
to James Burgess
Dear Sir,
Chickasaw, August 2nd 1798
The Head Dog requests you to give the following talk to the Chiefs around you & the Sinanohies --
Friends & Brothers
At this meeting there was only two present, Creeks & Chickasaws, the Chicklaws & Cherokees were not present. We wished the four Nations to have been at the Talk, but the Chickasaws only came. We talked over all matters the same as if all had been present, and considered that the land was small that we live on. We took the Chickasaws fast by the hand & hope that the Master of the Peace will assist us in preserving everlasting peace. We have talked all matters. We hope our Warriors, Women & Children will live in peace, the path between the two is now made white, long & broad & sincere. Sincere wish that it may never be bloody. We have talked a great matter over respecting our Land, it is small & the four Nations must preserve their Land, & prevent encroachments on their Country. We must look around us & inform each other respecting the Situation of our Nations. After we have looked around us it is necessary to be on our Guard against intruders & Land Speculators who will attempt to fool our people out of their Lands. We well know it is the wish of the President of the U.S. that we should preserve our Land, but we must be on our Guard against all speculators. The four Nations knew that the talks made at this Town are the laws of the Land & we hope the Sinanohies will take our talk & preserve the





Letter dated August 2nd, 1798 (cover)

Transcription of letter dated August 2nd 1798:

Tuckabatchee August 2nd 1798

Mr. James Burges,
Dear Sir

The Mad dog requests you to give the
Following talk to the chiefs around you & the Simanolies ----

Friends & Brothers

At this meeting there was only two (torn)
present, Creeks & Chickasaws the Choctaws and Cherokees were (torn)
the Talk ~

We wish'd the four Nations to have been at the Talk but the
chickasaws only came & we talked over all matters the same as if all
had been present and considered that the land was small that we all live on.

We took the Chickasaws fast by the hand & hope that the
Master of the Breath will assist us in preserving everlasting peace --- We
have talked all matters & hope that our Warriors, Women and Children will live
in peace, the path between the Two is now made White, Long and Broad &
it is our sincere wish that it may never be bloody. We have talked a
great matter over respecting our Land, it is small & the four Nations
must preserve their Land & prevent encroachments on their Country.
We must look around us & inform each other respecting the Situation
of our Nations ~ After we have look'd around us it is necessary to be
on our Guard against intruders & Land Speculators who will attempt
to fool our people out of their Lands ~ We will know it is the wish
of the President of the U.S. that we should preserve our Land, but we must
be on our Guard against all Speculators ~

The four Nations know that the Talks made at this Town are the
Laws of the Land and we hope the Simanolies will take our Talk and preserve

/pg 2

the Land & be all of one mind. We have considered that no one Nation shall
part with any of their Land without the Headmen of the four Nations are
present & give their Consent ~

We are surrounded by White people of different Nations & if they
give us Guns, Ammunition or Clothing we shall esteem them as friends, wear
the Clothing & Hunt with the Guns, but if any Nation wishes us to go to War,
(torn) not take their talk, but sit down in Peace ~

(torn) have made a Talk here & we hope you will pay attention to it, Some of
our people are ignorant & the Land Speculators will attempt to impose on them and
bring trouble on us, we make this talk that the whole Nation may know no individual

can dispose of any part of our Land ~

We are all real people and altho' we differ in our Language, we must be at peace and & assist each other. If the White people around us should go to War with each other, it is our determination to be at Peace & keep in friendship with all white people ~

We have agreed that if any thing happens on the frontier that the Choctaws & Chickasaws shall settle all differences on their Borders, & the Creeks and Cherokees will settle what may arise near them ~ There is men among the White people that distract our people by giving them advice, the four Nations have considered that if the Spaniards or Americans has any thing to say that they shall send a beloved man to whom we will listen as to a friend ~ They have appointed one man in the Chickasaws Wm Colbert to remove the Land Speculators in their neighbourhood, not to make any disturbance, but to keep the White people within their line ~

The four Nations of red people ought to be as one & if any of the Younger Brothers should go astray we have appointed the Chickasaws to set matters to right ~

The Chiefs of the four Nations will strictly Guard the frontiers to prevent encroachment & exert themselves to prevent their Young people stealing any thing belonging to their neighbours, the Choctaws will pay due attention

/pg3

From Tom Bigbie to Natchez & the Chickasaws will guard their frontier & The Cherokees will on their part as far as Apalache & the Simonolies Will guard the frontier towards the Spaniards ~

We have all met and agreed to bury all past grievances and settle all matters with our neighbours & friends, and in token of our everlasting friendship we have cut up a large piece of Tobacco, filled out pipes & made a white Smoke in toekn of Friendship with all our neighbours red and white and as the (torn) send to the skies, so we hope to remain in peace with red and white as long (torn) Sun rises ~

The Chickasaws coming here and hearing our Talks have agreed to them, and we find we are of one mind, the Simanolies must mind & not take any Step without the consent of the four Nations but look that no encroachments are made near St. Marks, St. Augustine and the Spanish Settlements.

You must look on Col. Benjamin Hawkins as the Agent of the four Nations, and you must do nothing without the Consent of the four Nations ~

We sent for Col. Hawkins to come and assist as a Brother but he is a good way from us ~ Col. Hawkins was appointed for the four Nations and as we did not wish to ride all over the Land We thought fit to send for the four Nations to one place that we might see each other face to face and if any one was in the wrong that they might be set right but he is at Fort Wilkinson ~

We have thought proper to permit Richard Bailey to remain at the Ottasey ~

Richard Thomas Clark
in the Indian Department
South of Ohio ~

Copy

Pensacola 6th May 1794

Dear Sir

Having got Ballantraigue underway I now
send off Bob with my letters for Havana - You will
see now how far this man is able to pay for the
Bingo Cargo and will Register & consign it
accordingly

Inclosed with this is put up a copy of
my letter to the Baron. I know not whether it will
reach your wishes on the subject of complaint ag:
himself but I ventured as far as I thought it prudent
to go & perhaps I have gone too far -

I have likewise wrote
to D^r Telleray a kind of a peace talk - It will
not suit me to go northwardly untill things are
a little more settled

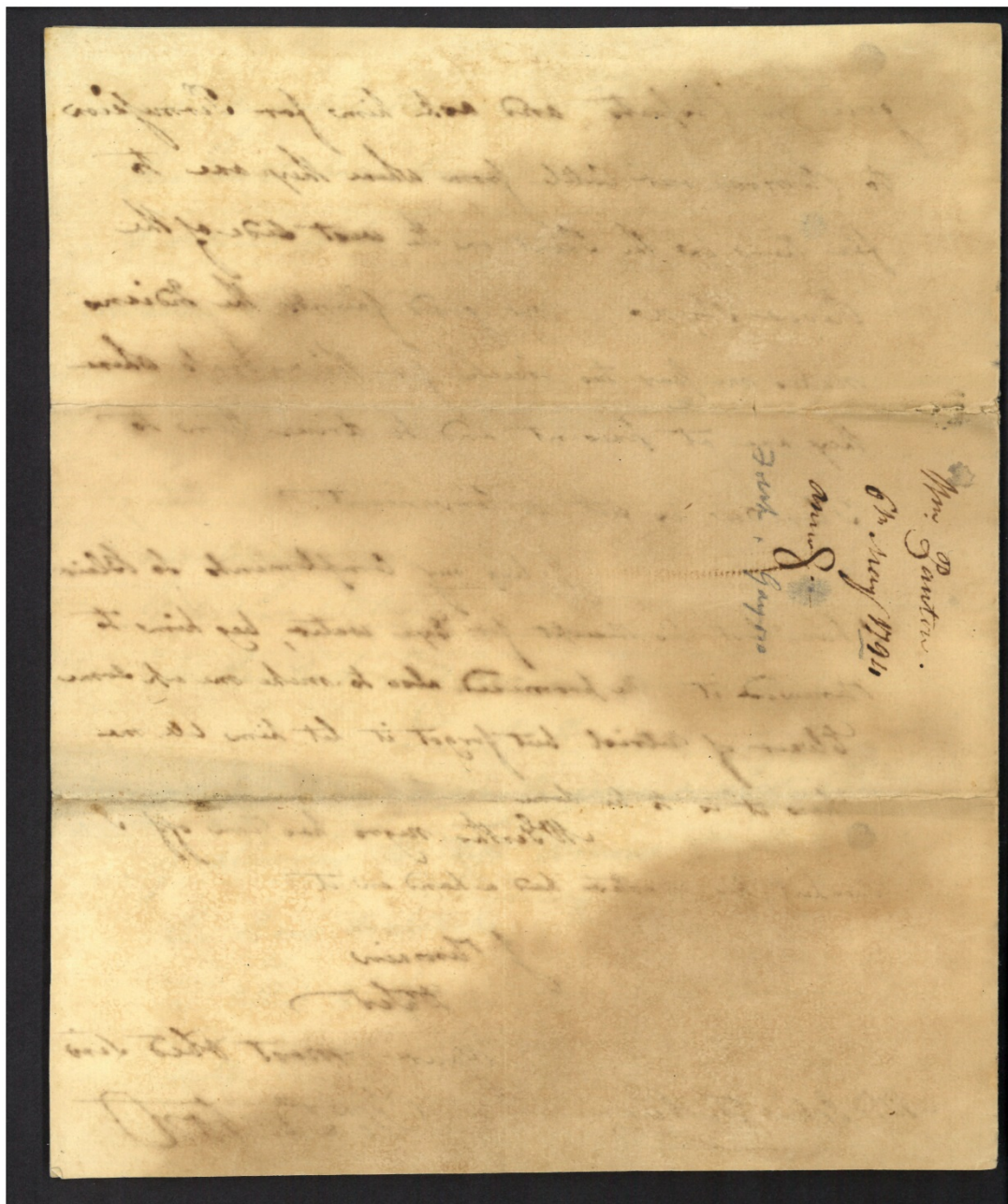
Saint Augustine was threatened
now do I know if it is let out of danger - & I
have advice that a schooner of ours was taken off
Saint

Saint Augustine Pass & arrived into charleston -
 This must have been poor Bains and the vessel
 I ordered to be bought & which I have not may
 have been the proper to send him in view of
 the despatches which I gave him reason to
 expect the beginning of the war.
 Lagroom could no chafe of
 any consequence with him they departed at the
 last of the month & returned a second accompanied him
 to the Rock Landing.
 As the undersigned Spanish
 it may be necessary to give a short notice
 of all the things to be done to the despatch of
 the Bay despatches. In English I have given
 a letter to that effect but a Spanish one
 will be better understood by Lagroom to show
 give

give my respects and ask him for permission
 to remove our cattle from where they are to
 fix them in the Point on the west side of the
 River Bay - My good friends the Indians
 makes me pay too much for their traps when
 they are at present, and to drive them to
 Florida is not so convenient.
 I beg my compliments to Oliver
 I have lost his receipt for Eye water, beg him to
 renew it. He promised also to make one of some
 Glass of Petriol but forgot it let him tell me
 how it is to be done -
 Another negro has turn off I
 suspect his master had a hand in it.
 J. Thomas
 Dated
 Your most Obedt Servt
 Wm. Smith

Wm. John Foster

Letter dated May 6th, 1794 (pages 2-3)



Letter dated May 6th, 1794 (cover)

Transcription of letter dated May 6th 1794:

Pensacola 6th May 1794

Dear Sir

Having got Ballanzatigui underway I now send off Bob with my letters for Havana – You will see now how far this man is able to pay for the Brigs Cargo and will register & Consign it accordingly

Inclosed with this is put a Copy of my letter to the Barron – I know not whither it will reach Your wishes on the subject of Complaint ag.t himself but I ventured as far as I though it prud.t to go& perhaps I have gone too far

I have likewise wrote to Doctor Tilleray a kind of peace talk – It will not suit me to go northwardly until things are a little more settled

Saint Augustine was threatened nor do I know is it is Yet out of danger – I have advice that a schooner of ours was taken

/ pg2

Saint Augustine Bar and carried into charlestown – This must have been poor Bain in the vessel I ordered to be bought & which Your Bro.r may have thought proper to send there in Lieu of the dispatch which I gave him reason to expect the beginning of the Year.

Seagrove Carried no chiefs of any consequence with him they reported at the Cusotaws & returned - a Guard accompanied him to the Rock Landing –

As You understand Spanish it may be necessary to give a short Power of Attorney to Capt Brown to dispose of the Brig Dispatch – The English I have given a letter to that effect but a Spanish one would be better witnessed by Lanzos to whom

/Pg3

give my Respects and ask him for Permission to Remove our Cattle from where they are to fix them in the Point on the west side of the River Styx – My good friends the Indians makes me pay too much for their Grass where they are at present, and to drive them to Florida in not Convenient.

I beg my Compliments to Blair I have lost his receipts for Eye water, beg him to Renewed it – He promised also to make me up some Elixir of vitriol but forgot it let him tell me how it is to be done –

McGirths negro has run off I suspect his Master had a hand in it

I remain

Dr Sir

Your most Obed Serv

Mr. John Forbes

Wm Panton

Chickasaw Nation Longport September 1st 1795
 Make this opportunity to acquaint you with one of the intentions
 of you this time in the Creek nation, has had several many letters
 about me which have heard for a long time and now I have written
 you my thoughts in full which I hope you will please and give me
 a full answer, We was at Bremen and you by your own conduct
 caused it to be otherwise which I want to know what
 will take it you were not aware of it
 Since you have been running about to the
 thank a Peace which if you had I am sure you would not have been
 at war which I would have to know your full intentions and not to hide
 your thoughts neither will I hide mine from you - Now it seems you
 have made a peace with the whole people and do not think you will let them
 better than you formerly did if you think you can it is better for you to
 people ought not to distrust one another but I refer it to you
 your thoughts and I sure you will not hide them from me - you wanted
 to spoil people for a long time and when you saw it was over and
 you would think they would not care how many enemies they
 had for my part I consider that finally there was one side that
 made a mistake here we lost our land in a manner & from that place
 thought it best to be at peace with all people - and it seems that in doing
 of that you seemed as if I spoiled something for you and you said a good
 deal about me my dear friends the whole people has doing a good deal
 But I have you as well as I think which although their flesh is white their
 mine be true as brothers and I thought to be so with
 money but you was always killing them and I thought to be so with
 blood to be full of blood and it was
 and I think would you have been doing the whole but
 I heard that you said you would kill them a whole lot but
 would kill us, which has plainly seen and at last we shall see
 blood - If you had any prospect of killing and driving the whole
 people back to where they come from it might have answered a good end
 enough so that you land might be very large but you had no prospect
 of any such hope, and it has caused blood to be spilled between us

Letter dated September 1st, 1795 (page 1)

each man will know it your own fault and may you
 on no let me know your full Determination
 Our Lord Father & Christ our Lord that used to talk is dead & gone
 on both sides & he is a new side, that has grown up since and
 I think that you are as if you were not with to imitate him
 but to speak as if you had been long as to speak with, I do not
 make this remark of you only, for he is the same as he
 at your and on the other side is very long & small & your
 that you always come alone as to my Lord to give a little of his
 to give your Children, - I always thought the only way to keep my land
 was to keep at peace with all my Neighbours and you have otherwise
 let me know your full Determination & I do not think as I have
 given you mine in full and if there is no way left to settle the matter
 by settling more blood it will be to your own choice & conduct
 You always was railing at one and the other side, people of this
 world and even one land as we are but just the only one that we could
 as peace in order to secure it. - Now I have given you my full
 in full and I expect you will not hide yours from me
 Now I expect your Answer I hope you will do one that favours as
 objects as possible
 O praymings

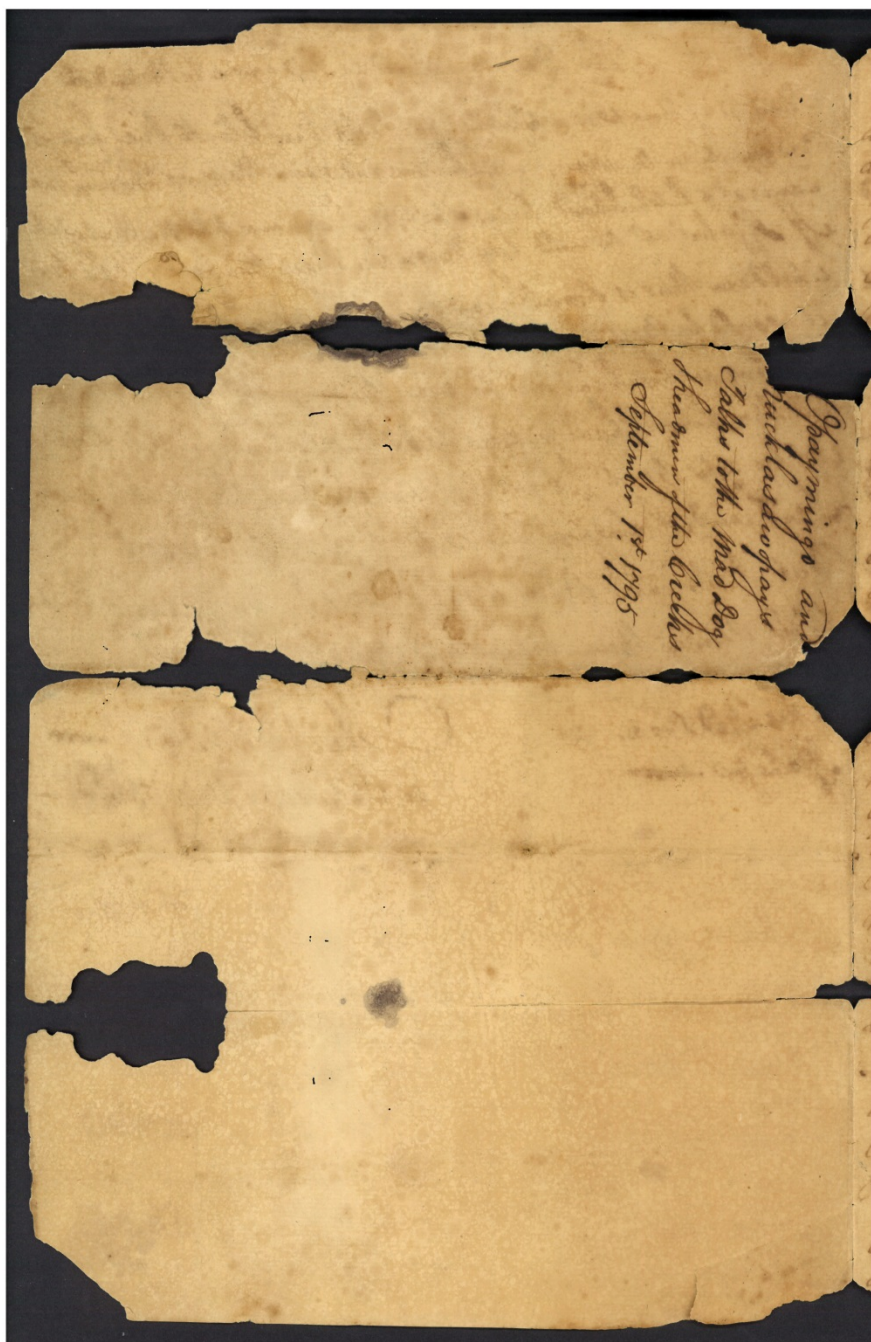
Had I and all the blood men of the world
 (non)

Letter dated September 1st, 1795 (page 2)

This Day we gathered to find you a talk and to
 find as if there was a Cloud that looks very black that hangs
 very much in the way, Iyahapoe and your Warriors have been the
 cause of a little blood, being killed, &c. I cannot tell the count of it
 If Iyahapoe would lay down his knife his spear and let the
 children that is small grow up, I have no doubt
 it would be better
 my nephew and the very young make my land worse
 and though we will have nothing to do but to hunt and kill Deer
 but for my part I have Relations on the other part of your
 land and I suppose they will be with the rest
 But I suppose what is to be, will be, and your conduct
 will guide their Fortune and mine
 I have had no more
 Iyahapoe

Much love & pray
 or Okiacaby Wolf's friend

Letter dated September 1st, 1795 (page 3)



Letter dated September 1st, 1795 (cover)

Transcription of letter dated September 1st 1795:

Chekesaw Nation

Longtown

September 1st 1795

I take this opportunity to Acquaint you with my full sentiments all you that lives in the Creek nation, has said a great many little talks about me which I have heard for a long time and now I have sent you my thoughts in full which I hope you will peruse and give me a full answer, We was as Brothers and you by your own conduct caused it to be otherwise, Which I want to know what [you woul]d Wish to be at You was always [ready to] Betray [your friends] and since you have been running about to the (torn) make a Peace which if you had Lain Still you would not have been at War, which now I want to know your full Sentiments and not to hide Your thoughts Neither will I hide mine from you --- Now it seems you have made a peace with the white people and do you think you will love them Better than youo formerly did, if you think I can, it is then we poor red People ought not to Destroy one another, but I refer it to your own thoughts and desire you will not hide them from me, --- you wanted to Spoile people for a long time, and when men says we are men and (torn) [yo]u, I should think they would not care how many Enemies they [ha]d, as for my part I consider that formerly there was one side that made such talks that we lost our Land in a manner & from that I always thought it best to be at peace with all people --- and it seems that in doing of tha you seemed as if I spoilt something for you, and you said a great deak about me as if my Loving the white people was doing you great Wrong --- But I loved you as well as them, Which although their flesh is whiter than mine we are as Brothers and I thought to be so with (torn) like myself but you was always killing them (torn) passed (torn) Blood to be spoilt Between us, it was your (torn) fault and seeking , would you never be tired chasing the white people, but I heard that you said you would kill them awhile & then you would kill us, which we plainly saw, and at last we spilt your Blood – If you had any prospect of killing & driveing the White People back to where they come from, it might have answered a good End Enough so that your land might be very large but you had no prospect of any such hopes, and it has caused blood to be spilt between us,

/pg 2

Which you will know is your own fault, and now I wish you to let me Know your full Determination ---- Our forefathers & Great men that used to Talk is Dead & gone on both sides & we are a New sett, that has grown up since, and I think that you seem as if you did not wish to Imitate them but to Speack as if you had two Tongues to speack with, I do not make this remark of you only, for we are the very Same so that I (torn) think it seems wrong that our men should be at Varian(torn) at your Land on the other side is now very small & your (torn) is small in comparison of your hunters, you do not consider that you always come all one as to my Door to get a little Bears oyle to feed your Children,--- I always thought the only Way to Keep my land was to Keep at peace with all my Neighbours, and if you think otherwise let me Know your full Sintimints & hide none of your thoughts as I have given you mine in full, and if there is no way left to settle the affair but by Spilling more bood it will be to your own choise & conduct, You always was railing at me and the Longtown people for triing (torn) in peace, and Save my land as

we are but few the only method we could (torn) was peace in order to secure it,--- Now I have given you my thoughts in full and Expect you will not hide yours from me, Now I Expect your Answer I hope you will do me that favour as quick as Possible -----

Opaymingo -----

(torn) Mad D[og] and all the Head Men of the Creek Nation (torn)

/pg 3

This Day We gathered to Send you a talk and it Seems as if there was a Cloud that looks Very black that hangs Very much in the way, Iffahajoe and your Warriors has been the cause of a little blood, being Spilt, & I cannot tell the event of it If Iffahajoe, would lay down his Sharp Weapons and let the Children that is Small grow up and have no (torn) it would be best (torn) in his hand and be very furis, make my land Waste and then he will have nothing to do but to hunt and Kill Deer --- As for my part I have relations in the hither part of your Land and I suppose they will Suffer with the rest But I Suppose what is to be, will be, and your conduct Will desire their Fortune and Mine

The Mad Dog or
Iffahajoe

Mucklasawopay
or Okliacaby Wolf's friend

/pg 4

Opaymingo and
Mucklasawopays
Talks to the Mad Dog
& headmen of the Creeks
September 1st, 1795

**APPENDIX C: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL
SECTION THREE (LAND CESSIONS)**

Talk from the Chiefs of the Semanoles to Mess^{rs}
Panton Leslie & Co.

Mr. Panton our old friend we lost
but we understand that Mr. Forbes is now head of the House
we take his talks as we formerly did our old friend's Mr.
Panton, your talk sent to us by William Hambley was rece-
-ived by the same yesterday in the square of Christy Salopa,
we have all agreed to your talk and are now going over
to take you by the hand, as likewise the Governor and our
old friend Col. Howard, the English's talks to us when they
left this was for us to hold the Spaniards by the hand which
we have done, and hope that they will do the same by us
Some time ago a few of our young people were led astray
by one of your white men, we have now got them to rights
again, and for the robberies they ~~committed~~ committed on your sto-
-res and the many debts which we owe and are not
able to pay, we agreed to grant you the track of land
which you and Yahulla Emathla agreed on at Pensac-
-ola, we hope therefore to see you soon at the Estefanulga
where all the Chiefs will receive you and sign the grant
and then when all talks are strait we hope to see a white
path to your trading houses, and forget all past talks
as we don't like to hear any thing of what is past

Letter dated 1802 (page 1)

you are coming to live near our towns you will there see
a great many poor old men and women they will give you ~~their~~
their hand do not you refuse them yours but take them
by the hand and use them well, and take care of your old
friends as you formerly did, now our talks are straight and
we hope they will remain so, and that you will not ask us
for nothing of what is past, but live on the land we have
giving you peaceable and contented.

Yichulla Micho came down this day in name
of the Micho anapa Micho and agreed to your talks and
signed the grant in name both of himself and the said
Chiefs

Transcription of letter dated 1802:

Talk from the Chiefs of the Semanolees to Mess'rs Panton Leslie & Co

Mr Panton our old friend we lost but we understand that Mr Forbes is now head of the House we take his talks as we formerly did our old friend's Mr Panton, your talk sent to us by William Hambly was delivered by the same yesterday in the square of Chiscky Talofa, we have all agreed to your talk and are now going down to take you by the hand, as likewise the Governor and our old friend Col Howard, the English's talks to us when they left this was for us to hold the Spaniards by the hand which we have done, and hope that they will do the same by us. Some time ago a few of our young pepoel were led astray by one of your white men, we have now got them to rights again, and for the robberies they committed on your stores and the many debts which we owe and are not able to pay, we agreed to grant you the track of land which you and Yahulla Emathla agreed on at Pensacola, we hope therefore to see you soon at the Estefanulga where all the chiefs will receive you and sign the grant and then when all talks are strait we hope to see a white path to your trading houses, and forget all past talks as we do not hear any thing of what is past

/pg2

you are coming to live near our towns you will there see a great many poor old men and women they will give you their hand do not refuse them yours but take them by the hand and use them well, and take care of your old friends as you formerly did, now our talks are strait and we hope they will remain so, and that you will not ask us for nothing of what is past, but live on the land we have giving you peaceable and contented

Yahulla Micko came down this day in name of Micko Anapa Micko and agreed to your talks and Signed the grant in name both of himself and the said Chiefs

John Forbes Esq. Creek - December 24th 1803

Dear Sir,

I received your letter dated the 9th September
acknowledging the receipt of mine to you dated the 28th of August, The con-
tents of which was not alluded to you, or your conduct towards me, but totally
complaining to you of the usage & selfishness of some of the Indian factors,
also the ingratitude towards me with my then distressing situation, the language
I made use of was owing to sickness & irritation; and not meant to offend you,
I hope if you had understood the real meaning of the contents of my letter
it was alluded to former transactions & altogether plural & not to you
your letter of the 5th July did not hurt me neither was I irritated or offended
with you, and what I said in regard of Indian factors I think you must
understand me; I do not want you to quit trading with them or lose the
little advantage you have. But they are certainly not to be depended on
they have ruined the old White traders and in the end they will ruin their
country & their mouths & will have no trade to support them, and all
owing to misconduct or on purpose. I do not know which is true the
Singer has had a good apt & chance at the expense of others, & the assistance of
the Indian Agency, I do not speak of him, I mention the general situation of
the Indian trade as it is carried on, & the method it is carried on is certainly wrong
and against the rules of former regulations.

I am truly sorry that the exceptional expressions in my letter to you
caused a delay in your business, I have made up for it since my
arrival in the Nation I had a chance of convincing these people, whom
they are dependent in many cases, in having them and from the white people
to pay their debts. This was to you, the cotton business was also ruined
and other topics of a very serious nature to their Nation. I also had your
Letter & Gov. Folger's letter to the Smokey Interpreter by Mr. Alexander
Carmichael who did so well and took great pains in his talks to the Indians
to assist your interest in every measure, all that was said & told in your
behalf would be tedious to relate by this opportunity.
In your next talks to this Nation insist that they must grant land.

to pay their debts without exceptions for the most part of them is
for it, a few worth the same King against it, there will be all
things to bear and nothing can be done with these people by coaxing.
The other day searching for papers at the Sugar house I found a Chaatawa
talk among his papers a copy of which I send to you the contents as follows
First Confederation entered the 18th 1802. - In a select council of the
Chaatawa Nation - Mungomastady arose & Addressed the Commissioners -
The Chiefs having agreed to the Convention we have made, I wish to speak
a few words on another subject, - I understand a dispute exists between my
Nation and our Brothers the Creeks, respecting the right to the Land on
the forks of the Alabama & Tombigby Rivers, This Land is ours We love
it and will support our claim to it. The day has come when we
are making friendly talks to our White Brothers & our Red Brothers, and
I shall send a talk to our Elder Brother the Creeks requesting them not
to claim this Land which we hold to be our property, This is the Land
which the Chaatawa Nation wish to site to pay their just debts and
they will support their claim to it. - I am the man appointed &
authorized by my Nation to have all talks with the Creeks, & to do all
business with them. - I have been into that Nation I have been received
and acknowledged as such by their head Chiefs, - and I wish must talk
to be sent to our great Father, the Father of all red people the
President of the United States

I cannot see any obligation you are under to show the confidential
Letters of your friend to the Publick, in my present situation I have nothing
to do with them I get nothing by them, therefore I beg that my letters may not
be seen but by yourself, if there should be occasion on any future days to
write on publick matters it can be done without showing private letters
from a man who truly wishes your welfare.

I hear nothing any kind to communicate to you I shall be down to Tombigby
as soon as I can from this route hear from me by every opportunity.

Believe me to be conclude with a saying you shall find I am Dear Sir yours &c
Dan M. Galt

Letter dated December 24th, 1803 (page 2)



Letter dated December 24th, 1803 (cover)

Transcription of letter dated December 24th, 1803:

John Forbes Esq
Dear Sir

Creeks --- December 24th 1803 -----

I received your Letter dated the 9th September acknowledgeing the receipt of mine to you dated the 28th of August, The contents of which was not aluded to you, or your conduct towards me, but totally complaining to you of the usage & selfishness I mete with from Indian factors also Ungratitude towards me, with my then distressing situation, the Language I made use of was oweing to sickness & vexation, and not mean't to offend you, whoever if you had understood the real meaning of of the contents of my letter's was aluded to former transactions & altogether plural & not to you your letter of the 5th July did not hurt me neither was I Iritated or offended with you, and what I said in regard of Indian factors I think you misunderstood me; I do not want you to quit trading with them or lose the little advantage you have – But they are certainly not to be depended on, They have ruined the old white tradders and in the end they will ruin their country & their merch'ts & will have no trade to support them, and all oweing to misconduct or on purpose I do not know which, it is true the Singer has had a good opp'ty & chance at the expense of others, & the assistance of the Indian Agency, I do not speck of him, I mention the General situation of the Indian trade as it's carried on & the method it is carried on is certainly wrong and against the rules of former regulations

I am truely sorry that the exceptionable expressions in my letter to you caused a delay in your Bussiness, Whoever I have made up for it, since my arrival in the nation I had a chance of convincing these people, wherein they are deficient in many cases, in loving their land from the white people to pay their debts They aver to you, the cotton Bussiness was also Releas'ed and other topicks of a very serious nature to their nations, -- I also had your letters & Gov'r Folchs letters to the Singer Interpretted by Mr. Alexander Cornell who did it well, and took great pains in his talks to the Indians to assist your Interest in every measure, all that was said & told in your behalf would be two tedious to relate by this opportunity ---- In your next talks to this Nation insist that they must grant lands

/ pg 2

to pay their debts with out Exceptions for the most part of them is for it, a few with the Tame King against it, time will being all things to bear and nothing can be done with these people by coxing the other day searching for papers at the Singers house I found a chactaw talk among his papers a copy of which I send to you the contents as follows

Fort Confederation October the 18th 1802 --- In a Select council of the Choctaw Nation Mingomastoby arose and Addressed the Commissioners --- The Chiefs having agreed to the Convention we have made, I wish to speack a few words, on another Subject, --- I understand a dispute Exists between my Nation and our Brothers the Creeks, respecting the right to the Land in the forks of the Alabama & Tombigby rivers, This Land is ours We love it and will support our Claim to it, The day has now come when we are making friendly talks with our White Brothers & our red Brothers, and I shall send a talk to our Elder Brother the Creeks requesting them not to claim this Land which we hold to be our property; this is the land which the Chactaw Nation wish to sell to pay their just debts, and they will support their Claim to it, ---- I am the man appointed and Authorised by my nation to hold all talks with the Creeks, & to do Bussiness

with them, --- I have been into that Nation I have been received and Acknowledged as such by their head Chiefs, --- and I wish this talk to be sent to our great Father, the Father of all red people the President of the United States

I cannot see any obligation you are under to Show the confidential Letters of your friend to the Publick, in my present situation I have nothing to do with them I get nothing by them, therefore I beg that my letters not be seen but by yourself, if there should be occasion on any future days to write on publick matters it can be done without showing private letters from a man who truely wishes you welfair, ----

I hear no news of any kind to communicate to you I shall be down to Tombigby as soon as I can from there you'll hear from me by every opportunity ---

Being in heast conclude with assuring you that I am

Dear Dir yours &

Dan McGillivray

/pg 3

John Forbes Eqr Merchant
at Pensacola, to be forwarded by
Mr. Wm Simpson at Mobile ---

26 ✓✓ Tookauliche 31st May 1801

Egan Anajo speaker for the Creek nation to
Mr. Forbes merchant of Pensacola.

Their former trading house Mr. Forbes
has sent us a talk and we have heard it. We
have heard it and shall do our endeavours to bring
it to perfection. We have heard it and shall consider
the contents, we cannot do any thing in a hurry.
Your house we our old friends it is true, but there
is many little people going about picking up the
skins. We shall use our endeavours this winter
to make good hunts and pay off our debts, but
whether the fault is in us or in our white traders
we do not know. Our traders have property enough
in negroes, cattle, horses; and it may be that the skins
have been given for these things which ought to
have paid your debt. I do not mean the white
traders alone, I include the Indian factors, they have
accumulated property and they certainly could pay off
some. It is very true, I have taken into consideration
in the fall of the year we shall want ammunition
altho our deer and game is almost gone. The game
is gone, and it seems a useless promise we make you,
when the Decemrs fall deer are usually about, but where
now are the deer? I hope you will let the traders
have powder bullet lead and flints for this winter hunt,
every trader knows the numbers of his hunters, and

Letter dated May 31, 1801 (page 1)

have their promise to try if they can find the deer.

We find there is a mis course of trade and that some people are not in debt, those who owe you we wish endeavour to turn to you the others who can when they have paid what they owe, may go to the market of their own choice. We mean in this to include red and white. One thing we wish an increase of the measure of powder it is now reduced to 10 or 12 loads for a chalc. This is the end of our talk for Mr. Forbes.

Written & interpreted by Timothy Barnard, Ship
Cornells and James Durwagan

Benjamin Hawkins
principal agent for Indian
affairs South of Ohio

Will you the other day?
on the subject of Indian debts.

Transcription of letter dated May 31 1801:

Tookanbatche 31 May 1801

Efau Hadjo speaker of the Creek Nation to Mr. Forbes merchant of Pensacola

Their former trading house Mr. Forbes has sent us a talk and we have heard it. We heard it and shall do our and land _____ to bring it to perfection. We have heard it and shall consider the contents. We cannot do anything in a hurry. You house are our old friends it is true, but there is many little people going about picking up the skins. We shall use our land _____ this wanton to make good lands and pay off our debts, but whether the fault is in us, or in our white traders we do not know. Our traders have property enough in negroes, cattle, horses, and it may be that the skins have been given for those things which ought to have paid your debt. I do not mean the white traders alone, I include the Indian factors, they have accumulated property and they certainly could pay off some. It is very true, I shall take into consideration in the fall of the year we shall want ammunition although our deer and game is almost gone. The game is gone, and it seems a useful promise we make you, when the Acorns fall, deer are usually about, but where now are the deer? I hope you will let the traders have powder and bullet lead and flints for this winters hunt, every trader knows the numbers of his hunters, and

/pg2

have their promise to try if they can find deer.

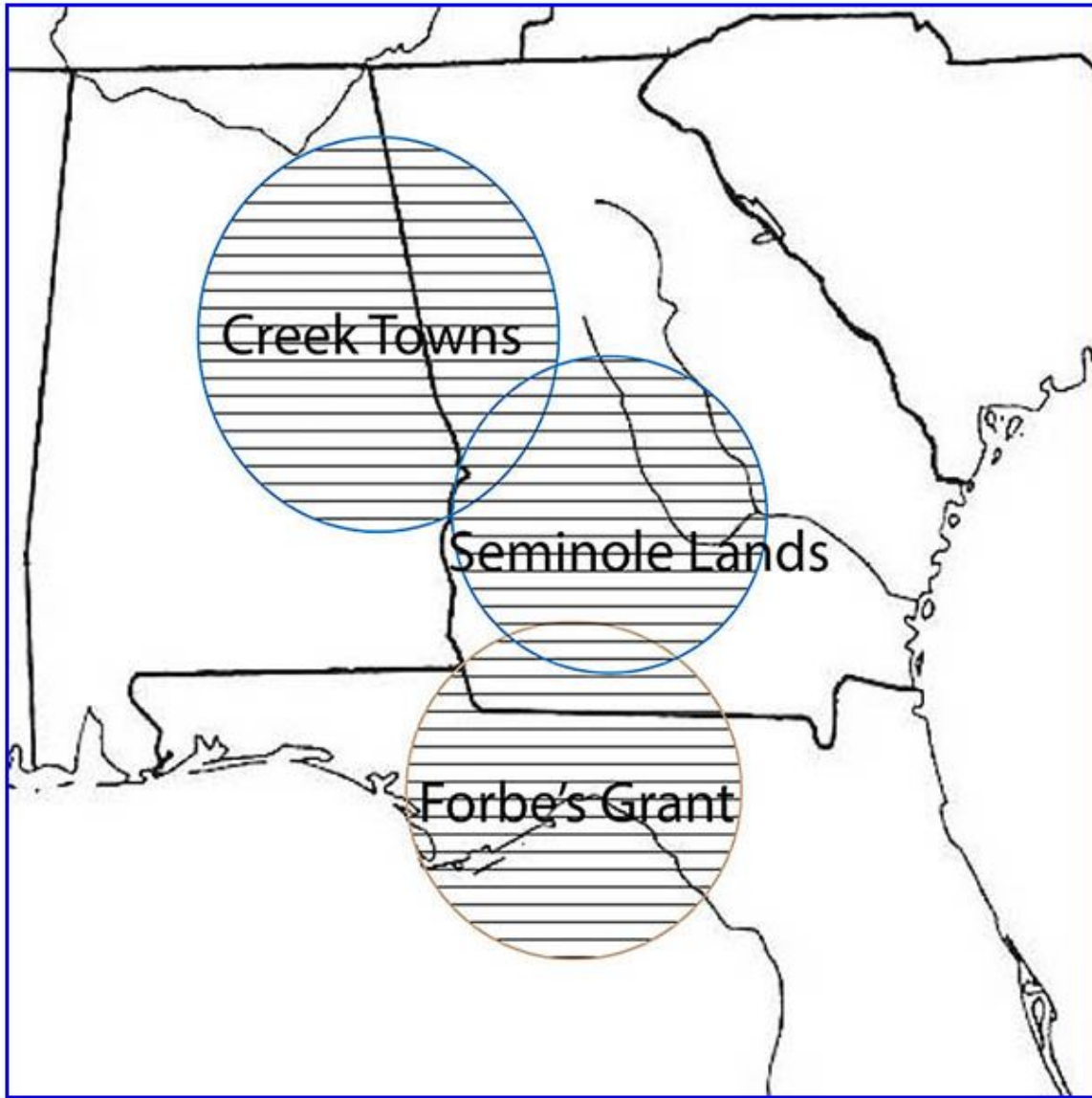
We find there is a new(?) course of trade and that some people are not in debt, those who owe you we wish and want(?) to turn to you, the others who can prove they have paid what they owe, may go to the market of their own choice. We mean in this to include red and white. One thing we wish, an increase of the measure of powder it is now reduced to 10 or 12 loads for a chalk. This is the end of our talk for Mr. Forbes.

Written as interpreted by Timothy Barnard, Alex Cornells and James Duruageaux

Benjamin Hawkins

Principal agent for Indian
Affairs South of Ohio

**APPENDIX D: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION PANEL
SECTION FOUR (TIME AND PLACE)**



Contemporary political map with mouse “hot-spot” fields (courtesy of the author).



1763 Map of Florida by T. Jeffreys (Florida Historical Society Archives).



1783 Joseph Purcell map of Florida (Florida Historical Society Archives).



1805 map of Forbes' Grant (Florida Historical Society Archives).

APPENDIX E: EXHIBIT INSTALLATION TEXT

Introduction

In 1763, Spain ceded the Florida territory to Britain in exchange for the Havana, a result of allegiances during the French and Indian War. Known as the British Period (1763-1783) it marked the beginning of England's colonization attempts on the peninsula. The dividing line between East and West Florida became the Apalachicola River, with the British colony of Georgia to the north, and the Mississippi River to the west. The territory was sparsely populated with most of the European colonists living in and around St. Augustine in East Florida, and Pensacola in West Florida, the capitals of each colony respectively. The groups now moving into Florida when the British took over colonial control were an amalgamation of many smaller Native American clans and familiar groups who were loosely linked by language and custom in the southeastern U.S. The British began in earnest meeting with the local leaders within these Indigenous communities and established ties that led to trade agreements. Key to the economic success of the British Floridas was a successful, trusting, and fruitful relationship with the various Indigenous groups living in and bordering the Floridas. The primary commodities coming out of the wooded backcountry were deer and otter pelts, more so the former. Items being imported and traded for the aforementioned peltry were Europeans metal goods such as firearms, gunpowder, jewelry, clothing and alcohol. Although the economy of the colonies was important, the other, and arguably the more pressing reason that the British catered to the needs and wants of the Indian population was strategic military alliances. During the French and Indian war, the British relied upon the provision of Indigenous American warriors to fight alongside the white colonists and the British army to defend her colonial possessions.

The North American continent presented a wealth of resources beyond just precious metals such as the ones mined from Central and South America. More importantly, the continent possessed natural resources and ample land for agriculture which by the 18th century would prove to be a driving force in the rapid immigration of Europeans into the Americas. Control of raw materials produced in the Americas became the motivating force between European traders and Indigenous inhabitants during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This competitive environment proved perfect for the emergence of large-scale trading operations which could handle the volume of necessary arms and goods coming into North America, but also the volume of deerskins and other peltry being exported out. It was through political coercion, complex trading networks, and opportunistic dealings that the partners and traders involved were able to procure so much wealth in the span of only a few decades. The enormous financial successes of the company and its successor, John Forbes and Company (JF&CO), are not the key issues explored in this project. Rather, it was the effect on Creek and Seminole Indian culture and trade that paved the way for hostilities between Anglo settlers and Indians in Florida during the Creek Civil War and the Seminole Wars period. The exertion of soft power upon the Indigenous populations led to the breakup of the clan systems and eventually led to the aforementioned armed conflicts. It is through the exploration of original documents, combined with the presentation of these materials in the form of podcasts that the long-term impacts of the late colonial period Indian trade can be better understood.

In this exhibit you can search through original documents relating to the fur trade and listen to audio podcasts which provide context for these narratives.

You can also connect and share your thoughts about this exhibit through the Florida Historical Societies Facebook page. We invite discussions on this topic and will expand and improve upon the exhibit based on user feedback.

Section One “The Trade on the Ground”

Within this exhibit, original documents have been utilized to highlight and explore the relationships between Creek and Seminole Indians, and Anglo-European traders who, after the end of the American Civil War, began moving with earnest into the former group's territory. This migration led to an increase in trade, but also an increase in hostile encounters. Cultural exchange between the two groups is evident through these documents.

The first section of materials includes two letters from Indian traders living within Creek territory to merchants with the Panton, Leslie & Co. headquartered in Pensacola. Both letters follow a similar format, including a list of goods requested from the merchants, but also include details concerning the various activities and developments occurring within the Indian territory.

Be sure to **CLICK** on images for larger view and the audio podcasts as you browse the documents which provide further context into the trade "on the ground."

Section Two “Talks with Native Americans”

As a network of trade and traders developed and expanded across the southeastern United States around the turn of the 18th century, the need for regular meetings between the various Native American clans and the merchants providing their goods. Each preceding document chronicles a different transcription of these meetings at various times throughout the trading relationship. Referred to as "talks" by the Native Americans, each letter covers a variety of issues, including often a list of goods needed for further trade, and even messages for other chiefs. Broader political issues stemming from American traders moving into Creek towns and inter-clan disagreements are also discussed.

What these "talks" tell us about the trade relationship is just how intertwined politics, trade and issues of sovereignty were during this brief period (1790 - 1812). They also show the ebb and flow of agency between involved parties. Over the years, depending on economic conditions, power was exchanged between merchant and consumer.

Be sure to **CLICK** on images for larger view and the audio podcasts at the beginning of the documents to hear a discussion about talks with Native Americans.

Section Three “Land Cessions”

By the turn of the beginning of the 19th century, the trade between the Panton, Leslie & Co. and their Native American consumers had diminished substantially. Fewer and fewer quality skins were being transported to Europe. Much of this downward trend can be linked to fractured political relationships between the various clans, as well as a steep decline in the population of available white-tail deer in the southeast. Over-hunting had decimated these populations. By 1803, William Panton, founder of the Panton, Leslie & Co. house had died in transit to Cuba. His partners took over the company and changed the way in which the company collected on its Debts. They also renamed the company John Forbes & Co. The company began petitioning both the American and Spanish governments to pressure its debtors to trade land for absolution of debt. Many clans resisted this deal, while others ceded large tracts to the company partners. As a result of these efforts, the partners and their heirs amassed enormous land holdings. Land rights and deeds of ownership were European concepts that many Creek clans did not prescribe to. Yet over the course of the previous decades, this European idea of ownership changed the ways in which Native groups approached issues of boundaries and private property rights. In-fighting and varying approaches to the encroachment of European and American ideas of modernity chipped away at the Creek's strength and presence in the region, laying the foundation for rapid American settlement on lands previously occupied by Native groups.

Be sure to **CLICK** on images for larger view and the audio podcasts at the beginning of the documents to hear a discussion about these land cessions.

Section Four: "Time and Place"

Maps have the ability to transport us to a distant time and place. The original maps featured in this portion of the exhibit build on the original documents you've already seen.

Below you can **CLICK** on the highlighted area to see an original period map depicting various aspects of the fur trade in Florida and the southeast, and the locations of historic trading towns, Spanish cities, established trading routes, as well as other information pertaining to the trade as it existed at the end of the 18th century

Lastly, you can see a survey of one of the largest land cessions granted to the trading firm John Forbes & Co., at the beginning of the 19th century. The nearly 1.2 million acre tract was exchanged for absolution of debt owed to the company by various Seminole and Creek Indian clans.

This map was originally featured in William Roberts' "An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida," published in 1763. Jeffreys used information found from various French and Spanish sources. Note the Creek Indian boundaries, as described by Jeffreys. A number of prominent Creek towns are listed. Various trade routes centered on established trails and waterways. The early deerskin traders relied heavily on this network of towns and villages. Although later maps included much more detailed topographical renderings, this Thomas Jeffreys map is important to the study of the fur trade in the southeast in the late 18th century

because the distribution of indigenous groups began to change as a result of the American Revolution, and the changing nature of their culture.

This 1783 map produced by Joseph Purcell and originally published in 1788 depicts the new political borders between Spanish East and West Florida, and the United States. The includes very detailed depictions of towns and cities in the southeast, including major roads and trails connecting communities. Notice the several dotted trails leading to and from Pensacola, then the headquarters of the Panton, Leslie and Co. trading house. Changes in the spelling and general location of indigenous communities has changed in this map, including the inclusion of the "Seminolas" located in north central Florida.

As a result of the increasing amount of debt owed to Panton, Leslie & Co., and its subsidiary John Forbes & Co., Several Creek and Seminole Indian groups were forced to cede large tracts of land to these companies. A significant result of this effort to collect on outstanding debts can be seen in this early 19th century map showing nearly 1.2 million acres of land given to the partners of the John Forbes & Co. trading firm. Notice the existence of trails and towns within the boundaries of this survey. Also note that ill-defined borders. When Florida came under American control, the heirs of John Forbes initiated a decades-long legal battle over the legitimacy of the original claims. Eventually, some of the original grant was honored by the State of Florida, yet issues concerning legitimate land rights remained prevalent.

APPENDIX F: TEACHER'S GUIDE

Teacher's Guide to *Colonial Fur Trade in Florida* Exhibit

<https://myfloridahistory.org/education/exhibit/fur-trade-florida>

Hosted by the Florida Historical Society



(Clockwise from top left) Heading from Panton, Leslie & Co. ledger, Greenslade Papers / 19th century lithograph "Yaha-Hajo" by J.T. Brown's Lithographic Establishment, 1842 / Promissory note dated Pensacola, November 4, 1793 Cruzat Papers / Drawing of Panton, Leslie & Company headquarters in Pensacola, from *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* by William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson

Introduction:

In 1763, Spain ceded the Florida territory to Britain in exchange for the Havana, a result of allegiances during the French and Indian War. Known as the British Period (1763-1783) it marked the beginning of England's colonization attempts on the peninsula. The dividing line between East and West Florida became the Apalachicola River, with the British colony of Georgia to the north, and the Mississippi River to the west. The territory was sparsely populated with most of the European colonists living in and around St. Augustine in East Florida, and Pensacola in West Florida, the capitals of each colony respectively. The groups now moving into Florida when the British took over colonial control were an amalgamation of many smaller Native American clans and familiar groups who were loosely linked by language and custom in the southeastern U.S. The British began in earnest meeting with the local leaders within these Indigenous communities and established ties that led to trade agreements. Key to the economic success of the British Floridas was a successful, trusting, and fruitful relationship with the various Indigenous groups living in and bordering the Floridas. The primary commodities coming out of the wooded backcountry were deer and otter pelts, more so the former. Items being imported and traded for the aforementioned peltry were Europeans metal goods such as firearms, gunpowder, jewelry, clothing and alcohol. Although the economy of the colonies was important, the other, and arguably the more pressing reason that the British catered to the needs and wants of the Indian population was strategic military alliances. During the French and Indian war, the British relied upon the provision of Indigenous American warriors to fight alongside the white colonists and the British army to defend her colonial possessions.

The North American continent presented a wealth of resources beyond just precious metals such as the ones mined from Central and South America. More importantly, the continent possessed natural resources and ample land for agriculture which by the 18th century would prove to be a driving force in the rapid immigration of Europeans into the Americas. Control of raw materials produced in the Americas became the motivating force between European traders and Indigenous inhabitants during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This competitive environment proved perfect for the emergence of large-scale trading operations which could handle the volume of necessary arms and goods coming into North America, but also the volume of deerskins and other peltry being exported out. It was through political coercion, complex trading networks, and opportunistic dealings that the partners and traders involved were able to procure so much wealth in the span of only a few decades. The enormous financial successes of the Panton, Leslie & Company and its successor, John Forbes and Company, are not the key issues explored in this project. Rather, it was the effect on Creek and Seminole Indian culture and trade that paved the way for hostilities between Anglo settlers and Indians in Florida during the Creek Civil War and the Seminole Wars period. The exertion of soft power upon the Indigenous populations led to the breakup of the clan systems and eventually led to the aforementioned armed conflicts. It is through the exploration of original documents, combined with the presentation of these materials in the form of podcasts that the long-term impacts of the late colonial period Indian trade can be better understood.

*This supplemental guide is to be used in conjunction with the *Colonial Fur Trade in Florida* digital exhibit, hosted by the Florida Historical Society. Sample questions and discussion topics are provided to help further the discussion in the classroom

Section One

“The Trade on the Ground”

Introduction:

The trade between indigenous groups and the Anglo-European merchants in late-18th century Florida, centered on an amicable understanding of material culture and demand for particular goods at certain times. For the merchants, this meant long period living amongst the various indigenous groups in an effort to establish long-term relationships which both sides could feel comfortable with.

The mercantile system was a tiered hierarchy, with the junior-most employee usually doing the most amount of work, for the smallest cut of the profit. It took years for individual traders to establish good relations with both the trading houses that supplied the raw goods for the trade, as well as the various indigenous communities within which they lived for long stretches of time. These traders became expert diplomats, as well as shrewd business people. Those who could not handle this delicate balance of needs from both sides, often would not last long in the trade. However, those who managed to establish long standing ties, found profit not only in the trade, but also benefitted from the acquisition of land.

Sample questions about this section:

- What types of items were being traded by both sides?
- What type of currency was utilized for these transactions?
- Do you think one side benefitted more from these transactions than the other?
- Who were the traders and what type of relationship did they have with the indigenous populations?
- Could the indigenous representative read and write this document? Why or why not?
- Can you identify products that we still use today?
- Why was deerskin such an important commodity to the Europeans?
- Was other information shared in these letters to the company headquarters?
- Why would this type of information be important for the company owners to know?

Glossary of terms:

Duffel: A coarse woollen cloth with a thick nap. These woven blankets became popular among indigenous groups during this time period.

Taffia: A type of alcoholic rum drink distilled from sugar cane. It was popular in the Caribbean region and was used widely in the trade as a barter item.

Gun Flints: Small pieces of quartz rock that when struck against the steel of a gun's frizzen created a spark, thus igniting a main charge within a firearm, and unloading the contents of the firearm. This type of firing system was common in the late 18th century and was utilized in the deerskin trade.

Section Two

“Talks with Native Americans”

Introduction:

The nature of the fur trade in the southeast was such that it became a conduit for political and social communication and change throughout the Indian country during this time period. The traders were the generally the only people routinely in contact with the various indigenous groups of Florida and the southeast, and thus, were perfectly suited as ambassadors for their respective colonial allegiances. The documents in this portion of the exhibit demonstrate the role in which “talks” or meetings between the Pantan, Leslie & Company traders and the various indigenous groups was mutually beneficial in many ways. Often requests for goods on credit were discussed, as are broader issues surrounding the relationships some tribal members had established with certain traders. In this section, try to imagine these discussions playing out in real time. Try to understand the vantage points of both sides.

Sample questions about this section:

- Why do you think these meetings were known as “talks?”
- What types of topics were discussed?
- Where were these talks taking place? Do you think that location is important?
- Who attended these talks?
- Who actually wrote the documents that you are looking at today? Who was the intended audience and do you think that translations were accurate?
- What do these “talks” tell us about power and agency in the backcountry?
- Was there an attempt to unify the various indigenous tribes during this time period?
- If so, why would that be beneficial/disadvantageous?

Section Three

“Land Cessions”

Introduction:

By the end of the 1790s, a large number of Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw and Choctaw groups had received trade goods from the Panton, Leslie & Company stores on credit. This meant that the company had an enormous volume of debtors on their rolls. When William Panton, one of the last founding members of the company died, and the population of white-tailed deer in the southeast diminished, the new partners decided to devote an increasing amount of time of debt collection rather than the fur trade.

The John Forbes & Company, as the organization was known after 1803, began in earnest working with the Spanish colonial government to put pressure on the various indigenous tribes to cede large tracts of land in Florida and other areas as payment for their debts. As seen in some of these documents, the issue was a divisive one amongst the Indians. Many felt that they could not give in to the pressure of American and European encroachment on their lands, while others cared very little and were happy to transfer ownership to the company partners. These discussions lasted for years, and lengthy litigation continued even longer, but eventually the John Forbes & Company acquired one of the largest single land parcels in Florida’s history – nearly 1.2 million acres in the northwest part of the state between the Flint and Apalachicola rivers.

Sample questions about this section:

- What do these documents tell us about land ownership and the perception of land ownership during this time?
- Who were these documents created for? For what purpose?
- Who created these documents?
- Who was writing these documents and who were the primary actors involved?
- Were other alternatives proposed for absolution of debt?
- Who can be faulted for the indebtedness? Why?
- Were only Indians in debt to the company? If not, then who else?
- What can these documents tell us about the interaction between the indigenous groups and the white traders?

Section Four

“Place and Time”

Introduction:

Maps can help us understand a particular place in time, and provide a visual context to the letters and other documents used for research. Beginning in 1783, Both East and West Florida were transferred back to Spanish control from the British. It was because of their involvement with the fur trade during the British reign that Pantón, Leslie & Co., was able to continue their work under a new colonial government. The Spanish were eager to establish cordial trading relationships with the Creeks and Seminole in order to parlay those relationships into formal treaties.

The interior of Florida and much of the southeast had not yet been fully mapped or explored by Europeans at this point. Much of what was known, and later transcribed into maps by European cartographers, was gathered by fur traders. Locations of indigenous villages, trails and the meanderings of various rivers and lakes are all elements important for these early traders to understand.

By the end of the 18th century, many indigenous tribes were deeply indebted to Pantón, Leslie and Co., and as a result made large land offerings in exchange for absolution of that debt.

Notice in the maps in this exhibit how the influence of American and Spanish traders changed the shape of Creek and Seminole boundaries. You’ll also notice that in later maps, more trails and roads are depicted, which indicates more people moving, living and trading in the region.

Sample questions about this section:

- When were these maps created?
- Who were these maps created for?
- What type of map are you looking at (topographical, artistic, political)?
- What might be missing from the map?
- Can you name towns, cities and villages?
- Has anything changed over time since these maps were first created?
- Can you identify place names mentioned in earlier letters with areas located on the maps?
- Are any of these place names still in existence?

Next Generation Sunshine State Standards (NGSS) this exhibit helps to meet:

4th Grade

Social Studies:

SS.4.A.1 – Analyze primary and secondary resources to identify significant individuals and events throughout Florida history.

SS.4.A.1.2 – Synthesize information related to Florida history through print and electronic media.

SS.4.A.3.2 – Describe causes and effects of European colonization on the Native American tribes of Florida.

SS.4.A.3.8 – Explain how the Seminole tribe formed and the purpose for their migration

Geography:

SS.4.G.1.1 – Identify physical features of Florida

SS.4.G.1.4 – Interpret political and physical maps using map elements.

5th Grade

Social Studies:

SS.5.A.4.5 – Explain the importance of Triangular Trade linking Africa, the West Indies, the British Colonies and Europe.

Geography:

SS.5.G.1.1 – Interpret current and historical information using a variety of geographic tools.

SS.5.G.2.1 – Describe the push-pull factors (economy, natural hazards, tourism, climate, physical features) that influenced boundary changes within the United States.

Economics:

SS.5.E.1.1 – Identify how trade promoted economic growth in North America from pre-Columbian times to 1850.

SS.5.E.2.1 – Recognize the positive and negative effects of voluntary trade among Native Americans, European explorers, and colonists.

8th Grade

Social Studies:

SS.8.A.1 - Use research and inquiry skills to analyze American History using primary and secondary sources.

Geography:

SS.8.G.4 – Understand the characteristics, distribution and migration of human populations.

SS.8.G.6 – Understand how to apply geography to interpret the past and present and plan for the future.

9-12th Grade:

Social Studies:

SS.912.A.1 – Use research and inquiry to skills to analyze American history using primary and secondary resources.

Geography:

SS.912.G.2 – Understand physical and cultural characteristics of places.

SS.912.G.4 – Understand the characteristics, distribution and migration of human populations.

SS.912.G.6 – Understand how to apply geography to interpret the past and present and plan for the future.

APPENDIX G: WEBSITE

Fur Trade Florida



(Clockwise from top left) Heading from Panton, Leslie & Co. ledger, Greenslade Papers / 19th century lithograph "Yaha-Hajo" by J.T. Brown's Lithographic Establishment, 1842 / Promissory note dated Pensacola, November 4, 1793 Cruzat Papers / Drawing of Panton, Leslie & Company headquarters in Pensacola, from *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* by William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson

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The Trade On The Ground

Audio File:



Download: The trade on the ground, Fur Trade Florida

Within this exhibit, original documents have been utilized to highlight and explore the relationships between Creek and Seminole Indians, and Anglo-European traders who, after the end of the American Civil War, began moving with earnest into the former group's territory. This migration led to an increase in trade, but also an increase in hostile encounters. Cultural exchange between the two groups is evident through these documents.

The first section of materials includes two letters from Indian traders living within Creek territory to merchants with the Panton, Leslie & Co. headquartered in Pensacola. Both letters follow a similar format, including a list of goods requested from the merchants, but also include details concerning the various activities and developments occurring within the Indian territory.

Be sure to **CLICK** on images for larger view and the audio podcasts as you browse the documents which provide further context into the trade "on the ground."

Exhibit Item:

1796 McGillivray Letter

Exhibit Segment:

1796 McGillivray Letter Page 1 of 3



1796 McGillivray Letter Page 2 of 3



1796 McGillivray Letter Page 3 of 3



Messrs Panton Leslie & Co


Gentlemen

The Bearer Cusitaw Mcco
Wants 1 bag powder 25 powder Do
2 bags bullets 1 bag bullets do
1 doz white shirts
1 doz check shirts
4 ps Shrouds
1 ps shagend duffels
2 London duffels
12 1/2 pint blankets
2 ps EW Callicoe
2 ps romal hand rs
2 doz pr earbobs


1798 McQueen Letter

Exhibit Segment:


1798 McQueen
Letter, page 1 of 3



1798 McQueen
Letter, page 2 of 3



1798 McQueen
Letter, page 3 of 3



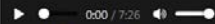
Page: 1 of 2 Automatic Zoom


**TRANSCRIPT OF
1798 McQueen Letter**

Messrs. Pantan Leslie & Co
Merchants
Pensacola
/pg2
1 left Shroud

Talks with Native Americans

Audio File:



Download:  Talks with Native Americans, Fur Trade FL

As a network of trade and traders developed and expanded across the southeastern United States around the turn of the 18th century, the need for regular meetings between the various Native American clans and the merchants providing their goods. Each preceding document chronicles a different transcription of these meetings at various times throughout the trading relationship. Referred to as "talks" by the Native Americans, each letter covers a variety of issues, including often a list of goods needed for further trade, and even messages for other chiefs. Broader political issues stemming from American traders moving into Creek towns and inter-clan disagreements are also discussed.

What these "talks" tell us about the trade relationship is just how intertwined politics, trade and issues of sovereignty were during this brief period (1790 - 1812). They also show the ebb and flow of agency between involved parties. Over the years, depending on economic conditions, power was exchanged between merchant and consumer.

Be sure to [CLICK](#) on images for larger view and the audio podcasts at the beginning of the documents to hear a discussion about talks with Native Americans.

Exhibit Item:

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 1

Exhibit Segment:

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 1, page 1 of 3

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 1, page 2 of 3

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 1, page 3 of 3



Page: 1 of 2 Automatic Zoom

TRANSCRIPT: Talks with Native Americans, Letter 1

Dr. Sir

Little Tallassee April 24th. 1798

Agreeable to what you wrote me the 18th March concerning the quantity of Lands Sufficient to pay (torn) debts due you I have slightly sounded the all (torn) mas by our friend the Bearer of this and by whi (torn) they told him it will not do for they said they co(torn) not part nor give away their Land for debts for they (torn) no other Land to hunt upon and it was no talk, (torn) I did not urge them, being convinced of their refus[al] on your part, I asked them if they would grant me a place to live upon being grown old among them They asked Where I told the alabama chiefs I wanted the Oven Bluff and the bluff and the bluff above the land between the 2 bluffs would Satisfy me, they answered & said We the alebamahs are the real masters of that place and we give it to you, you may take possession of it as soon

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 2

Exhibit Segment:

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 2, page 1 of 3

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 2, page 2 of 3

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 2, page 3 of 3



Page: 1 of 3 Automatic Zoom

**TRANSCRIPT OF
Talks with Native Americans, Letter 2**

Tuckabatchee August 2nd 1798

Mr. James Burges,
Dear Sir

The Mad dog requests you to give the
Following talk to the chiefs around you & the Simanories ----
Friends & Brothers
At this meeting there was only two (torn)
present, Creeks & Chickasaws the Choctaws and Cherokees were (torn)
the Talk --
We wish'd the four Nations to have been at the Talk but the


Talks with Native Americans, Letter 3

Exhibit Segment:

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 3, page 1 of 3

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 3, page 2 of 3

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 3, page 3 of 3



Page: 1 of 2 Automatic Zoom

TRANSCRIPT OF
Talks with Native Americans, Letter 3

Pensacola 6th May 1794

Dear Sir

Having got Ballanzatigui underway I now send off Bob with my letters for Havana -- You will see now how far this man is able to pay for the Brigs Cargo and will register & Consign it accordingly

Inclosed with this is put a Copy of my letter to the Barron -- I know not whither it will reach Your wishes on the subject of Complaint ag.t himself but I ventured as far as I thought it prud.t to go& perhaps

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 4


Exhibit Segment:

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 4, page 1 of 4

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 4, page 2 of 4

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 4, page 3 of 4

Talks with Native Americans, Letter 4, page 4 of 4



Page: 1 of 2 Automatic Zoom

TRANSCRIPT OF
Talks with Native Americans, Letter 4

Chokesaw Nation Longtown September 1st 1795

I take this opportunity to Acquaint you with my full sentiments all you that lives in the Creek nation, has said a great many little talks about me which I have heard for a long time and now I have sent you my thoughts in full which I hope you will peruse and give me a full answer, We was as Brothers and you by your own conduct caused it to be otherwise, Which I want to know what [you would]d Wish to be at You was always [ready to] Betray [your friends] and since you have been running about to the (town) make a Peace which if you had Lain Still you would not have been at War, which now I want to know your full Sentiments and not to hide Your thoughts Neither will I hide mine from you --- Now it

Land Cessions

Audio File:

0:00 / 6:25

Download: [Land Cessions, Fur Trade Florida](#)

By the turn of the beginning of the 19th century, the trade between the Pantton, Leslie & Co. and their Native American consumers had diminished substantially. Fewer and fewer quality skins were being transported to Europe. Much of this downward trend can be linked to fractured political relationships between the various clans, as well as a steep decline in the population of available white-tail deer in the southeast. Over-hunting had decimated these populations. By 1803, William Pantton, founder of the Pantton, Leslie & Co. house had died in transit to Cuba. His partners took over the company and changed the way in which the company collected on it's Debts. They also renamed the company John Forbes & Co.

The company began petitioning both the American and Spanish governments to pressure its debtors to trade land for absolution of debt. Many clans resisted this deal, while others ceded large tracts to the company partners. As a result of these efforts, the partners and their heirs amassed enormous land holdings. Land rights and deeds of ownership were European concepts that many Creek clans did not prescribe to. Yet over the course of the previous decades, this European idea of ownership changed the ways in which Native groups approached issues of boundaries and private property rights. In-fighting and varying approaches to the encroachment of European and American ideas of modernity chipped away at the Creek's strength and presence in the region, laying the foundation for rapid American settlement on lands previously occupied by Native groups.

Be sure to CLICK on images for larger view and the audio podcasts at the beginning of the documents to hear a discussion about these land cessions.

Exhibit Item:

Letter 1802

Exhibit Segment:

Land Cessions,
Letter, 1802, page 1 of 2

Land Cessions,
Letter, 1802, page 2 of 2



TRANSCRIPT OF Land Cessions, Letter 1802

Talk from the Chiefs of the Semanolees to Mess's Pantton Leslie & Co

Mr Pantton our old friend we lost but we understand that Mr Forbes is now head of the House we take his talks as we formerly did our old friend's Mr Pantton, your talk sent to us by William Hambly was delivered by the same yesterday in the square of Chiscky Talofa, we have all agreed to your talk and are now going down to take you by the hand, as likewise the Governor and our old friend Col

Letter December 24th 1803

Exhibit Segment:

Land Cessions,
Letter, December
24th 1802, page 1 of 3

Land Cessions,
Letter, December
24th 1802, page 2 of 3

Land Cessions,
Letter, December
24th 1802, page 3 of 3

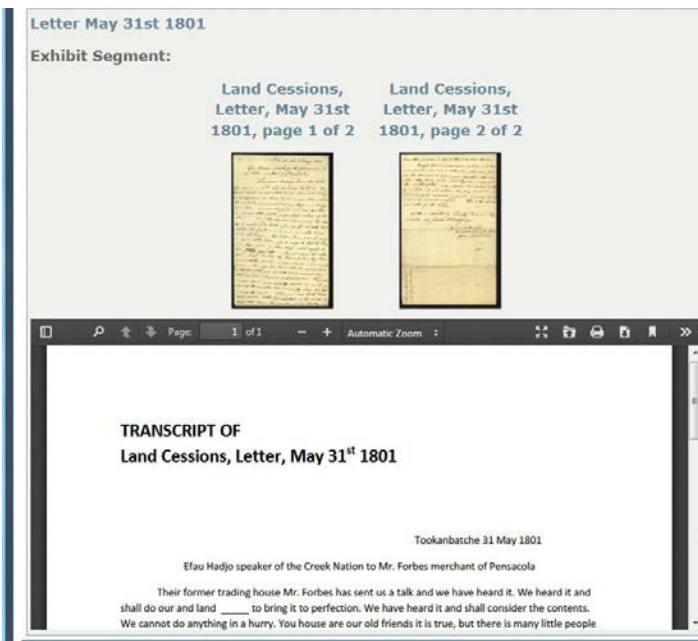


TRANSCRIPT OF Land Cessions, Letter, December 24th 1803

John Forbes Esq
Dear Sir

Creeks --- December 24th 1803 -----

I received your Letter dated the 9th September acknowledging the receipt of mine to you dated the 28th of August, The contents of which was not aluded to you, or your conduct towards me, but totally complaining to you of the usage & selfishness I mete with from

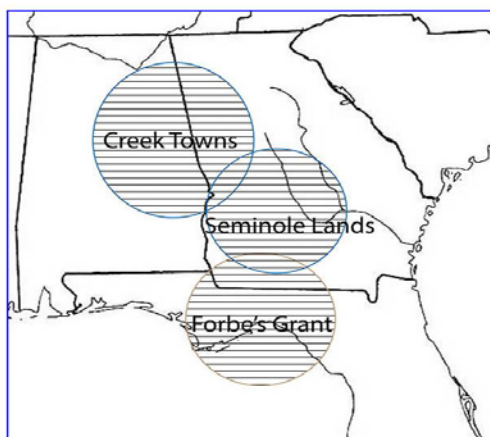


Time and Place

Maps have the ability to transport us to a distant time and place. The original maps featured in this portion of the exhibit build on the original documents you've already seen.

Below you can [CLICK](#) on the highlighted area to see an original period map depicting various aspects of the fur trade in Florida and the southeast, and the locations of historic trading towns, Spanish cities, established trading routes, as well as other information pertaining to the trade as it existed at the end of the 18th century

Lastly, you can see a survey of one of the largest land cessions granted to the trading firm John Forbes & Co., at the beginning of the 19th century. The nearly 1.2 million acre tract was exchanged for absolution of debt owed to the company by various Seminole and Creek Indian clans.



Creek Towns are in the 1763 T. Jeffreys map

Seminole Towns are in the 1783 Purcell map

Forbe's Grant is depicted in the 1805 Forbes Purchase map

Exhibit Segment:

Jeffrey's Map, 1763



This map was originally featured in William Roberts' "An Account of the First Discovery, and Natural History of Florida," published in 1763. Jefferys used information found from various French and Spanish sources.

Note the Creek Indian boundaries, as described by Jefferys. A number of prominent Creek towns are listed.

Various trade routes centered on established trails and waterways. The early deerskin traders relied heavily on this network of towns and villages.

Although later maps included much more detailed topographical renderings, this Thomas Jefferys map is important to the study of the fur trade in the southeast in the late 18th century because the distribution of indigenous groups began to change as a result of the American Revolution, and the changing nature of their culture.

1783 Purcell

Exhibit Segment:

1783 Purcell Map



This 1783 map produced by Joseph Purcell and originally published in 1788 depicts the new political borders between Spanish East and West Florida, and the United States. The includes very detailed depictions of towns and cities in the southeast, including major roads and trails connecting communities.

Notice the several dotted trails leading to and from Pensacola, then the headquarters of the Pantón, Leslie and Co. trading house.

Changes in the spelling and general location of indigenous communities has changed in this map, including the inclusion of the "Seminolas" located in north central Florida.

1805 Forbes Land Cessions

Exhibit Segment:

1805 Forbes Purchase



As a result of the increasing amount of debt owed to Pantón, Leslie & Co., and its subsidiary John Forbes & Co., several Creek and Seminole Indian groups were forced to cede large tracts of land to these companies. A significant result of this effort to collect on outstanding debts can be seen in this early 19th century map showing nearly 1.2 million acres of land given to the partners of the John Forbes & Co. trading firm.

Notice the existence of trails and towns within the boundaries of this survey. Also note that ill-defined borders. When Florida came under American control, the heirs of John Forbes initiated a decades-long legal battle over the legitimacy of the original claims. Eventually, some of the original grant was honored by the State of Florida, yet issues concerning legitimate land rights remain prevalent.

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